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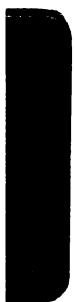


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ART AND HEALING OF THE BAKONGO



Wyatt MacGaffey



STARTING

ART AND HEALING OF THE BAKONGO COMMENTED BY THEMSELVES:

MINKISI FROM THE LAMAN COLLECTION

Kikongo texts translated and edited by Wyatt MacGaffey.

**Folkens Museum – Etnografiska
Stockholm**

1000000000

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Foreword

Folkens museum-etnografiska houses about hundred Kongo minkisi – or fetishes as they are more popularly called – in what is known as the Laman collection. A book based on this material, in the form of drawings with accompanying texts, was published by Karl Edvard Laman, the third in his series *The Kongo*, Uppsala 1962. Since this volume has long been out of print we are grateful that Professor Wyatt MacGaffey has undertaken a new and more thorough study of these particular objects and the KiKongo texts relating to them, and that he has allowed us to publish this monograph.

Since this present catalogue will probably remain unique in African studies for some time to come, it should be pointed out in what way it differs from that published by Laman. In Laman's work, the text is a composite of earlier texts, both his own and others. Unfortunately, it is done in such a way that it is unclear who wrote what, about what exactly, and with what authority. In the present study, as well as identifying the authors and the locations, Professor MacGaffey has established which original texts can be specifically associated with 45 of the minkisi.

The texts have been retranslated in their entirety thus eliminating a number of errors which marred the earlier translation published by Laman. More importantly, however, the original KiKongo is made

available for the first time. Although this had been Laman's original intention it was never carried out. In the present volume, the Kikongo and the English texts are placed side by side, which greatly increases the usefulness of Laman's work to all serious students of Bantu-speaking cultures.

Much of the difficulty that attaches to the use of Laman's work results from the lack of indexes. The indexes compiled by professor MacGaffey will help to document the minkisi described by Laman or included as objects in his collection.

To the general public, some of the minkisi represent African art. But even if objects are collected according to this criterion, the present publication will make it clear that as a class, minkisi objects have an intrinsic meaning and function that supersedes the western designation given to some of them. The painstaking work that Professor MacGaffey has devoted to these texts, and ultimately the texts themselves, thus greatly enhances our understanding of the indigenous ideas underlying the fashioning of minkisi objects.

Stockholm in December, 1990

Ulla Wagner
Museum director

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ABBREVIATIONS

KEL:
Karl Edvard Laman

LKD:
Laman's Dictionnaire Kikongo-Francais (Brussels, 1936)

LKI-IV:
Laman's The Kongo, 4 vols. (Uppsala, 1953-68)

LKM:
Laman's KiKongo monograph. Riksarkivet, collection Svenska Missionsforbundet, Laman Series F: Nos. 10, 11, 12. Several carbon copies exist. The pagination is not fully continuous throughout the 3,000 or so pages.

NOTA BENE! The pages of the original typescript in Riksarkivet have been renumbered, by hand, in the section "Kunku VII, 175, Nkisi nkisi," so as to add 300; the numbers used in this catalogue, which is based on a carbon copy of the monograph, are the original numbers.

AUTHORS: A LIST OF LAMAN'S CONTRIBUTORS

NAME	CAHIERS	STATION
Babembe (?)	001-004	Kolo
Babokidi	005	Kinkenge
Babutidi Timotio	006-023	Kinkenge (Kisenga)
Basukisa	024	Kinkenge
Baya Filimoni	025	Kinkenge ?
Bitebodi Andela	026	Madzia (Mansimu)
Demvo Thomas	027-045	Kingoyi
Diafwila	046-053	Kibunzi
Kavuna Simon	054-065	Nganda, mvungi
Kiananwa Abeli	066-073	Kibunzi
Kibangu Yelemia	074	Kingoyi
Kilola Esai	075-078	Mukimbungu
Kimbembe Andre	079-082	Madzia
Kimfuzi	083	Kibunzi
Kinkela Ngoma	084-094	Vungu
Kionga Aseli	095-114	Kingoyi
Konda Jean	115-122	Kinkenge
Kunzi Yelemia	123-137	Mukimbungu
Kwamba Elia	138-151	Kingoyi (Numbu)
Lemba Joseph	152	Thysville
Loko	153	Manianga
Lunungu Moise	154-191	Nganda
Lusa Meso	192-196	?
Lusala Yoane	197-201	Nganda
Lutambi Samuel	202-203	Niangi
Lutangu A.M.	204-215	Lolo (Kimpunga)
Lutete Esaya	216-237	Lolo
Lwamba Josefi	238-240	Lolo
Maboku	241	Kinkenge
Mabwila	242-244	?
Mafula Loti	245-248	Mbanza Manteke
Makasi Esaya	249	Manianga
Makundu Tito	250-266	Mukimbungu
Malanda Isaki	267	Kinkenge
Malumba Benyamin	268-275	Musana
Mampuya K.P.	276-277	Musana
Mampuya ye Lunungu	338	?
Masamba Matende Mose	278	Mukimbungu ?
Mato Davidi	279-280	Maduda
Matunta	281-317	Musana
Mawakosi Samuel	318-320	Mukimbungu
Mawuku Filemoni	322	Madzia

NAME	CAHIERS	STATION
Mayoka Yakobi	323	Nganda
Mayuku Abraham	324	Nganda
Mbaku Simon	325	Kinzuzi
Mbazi	326	Nganda
Mfwandulu	327	?
Mindoki Ngideoni	328-337	Nganda
Mpengani	339-341	?Kolo
Mvubu Tomasi	342-344	Kiobo
Ndibu Kapita Joseph	345-365	Kingoyi (Mpangala)
Ndongala	367-368	Thysville
Ndundu	369	?
Ngiendolo	370	Nganda
Ngiuvudi Paul	410-411	Musana
Ngoma Petelo	371-372	Mboka; Yema Yanga
Ngoma Yosua	373-381	Musana
Nkuzu Esaya	382-383	Niangi
Nkwangu Lazalo	384	Diadia
Nsakala Elisa	385	Nganda (Luwala)
Nsembani Samuel	386	Mbanza Nsanga
Nsemi Isaki	387-400	Kingoyi
Ntundu Esaya	401-408	Kasi (Nkwanza)
Ntwalani Mesaki	409	Kasi (Kilwangu)
Nzimba	412	?
Wamba N. Enoki	413-428	Mukimbungu (Bulu)
Zoyo Zakalia	429	Kinkenge

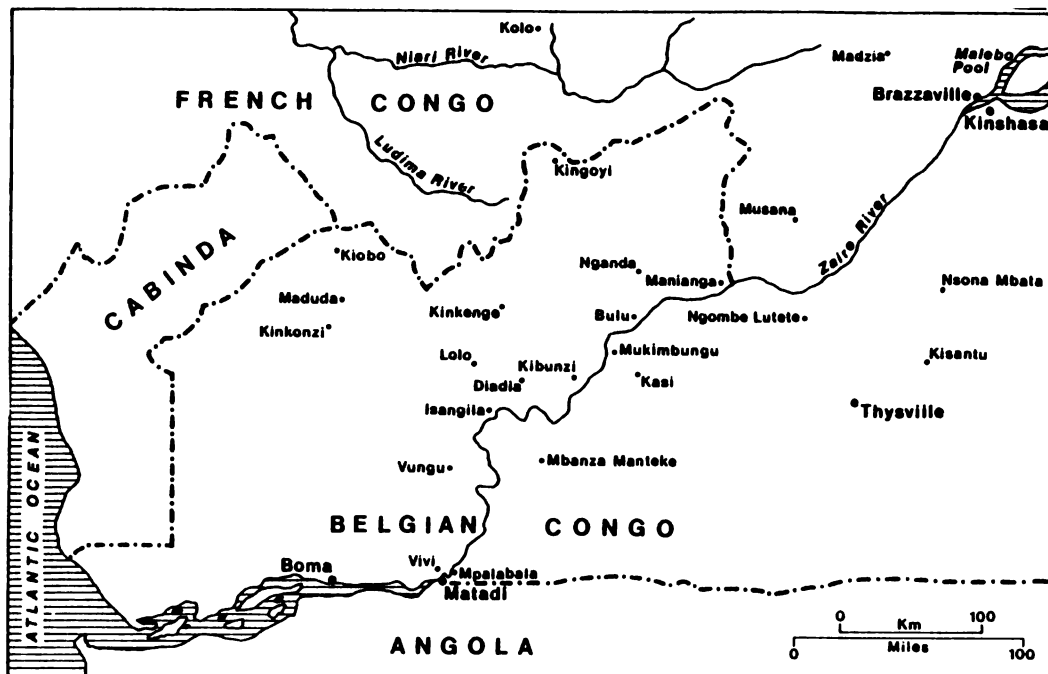
INTRODUCTION

The Collection

The forty-five Kongo *minkisi* described in this book were selected from those in the Museum's collection because for each of them a text has been found, written in KiKongo, that describes either the identical object or one of the same name and appearance, from the same region in Lower Congo (Lower Zaire). The result is a uniquely authentic, indigenous catalogue of these objects, more than 100 numbered items in all.

Both the objects and the texts were collected by the missionary Karl Edward Laman, of the Swedish Covenant Church (SMF), in the second decade of this century (Söderberg 1985). The objects, along with many more, were deposited either in 1919 or, after his death, in 1954. Most of them are accompanied by precious information, all too rare for the period, giving the indigenous name of the object and the mission station at which it was collected.

Selected European settlements
in Lower Congo, c. 1915



The texts are now in the National Archives in Stockholm. The story of their collection is as follows.

Already in 1907, in collaboration with Westlind, Hammar and other missionaries, and under the editorial sponsorship of the anthropologist E. Nordenskiöld, Laman had published, in double column with Swedish translation, a number of texts of ethnographic interest, written by Ba-Kongo in their own language, KiKongo. Between 1912 and 1919, Laman collected a great many more, amounting by his estimate to 10,000 manuscript pages, by means of a detailed ethnographic questionnaire distributed to Kongo teachers and catechists. According to an undated typescript (probably ca. 1912), Laman saw the need to create a KiKongo "literature"; as he wrote in a letter circulated to missionaries, in English, "The object of the mission should be to try to get such a copious native literature that the missionaries might be able to find the people's own manner of speaking and reasoning. This literature ought to be printed and translated, because it will be of the highest value for the coming missionaries in the study of the language and of the people and then for science and the coming generations of the people." This was an extraordinarily modern project, far ahead of its time.

The Kikongo version of this circular was addressed to "intelligent people who know how to read and write." Most of the 68 respondents were associated with the SMF, but several belonged to the Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA), an American organization, and a few to other English-speaking, Protestant missions. Some of the respondents, who as leaders in the mission churches belonged to an emerging Kongo elite, saw the project as the creation of a Kongo cultural heritage; their responses went far beyond what one expects of a questionnaire, and some of them undertook field research on Laman's behalf. News of their work was published in the SMF mission journal, *Minsamu Miyenge* (MacGaffey 1986b). Laman read and annotated all of the 429 Notebooks (cahiers) they filled, and evidently interrogated the authors to clear up points of linguistic and ethnographic obscurity. The result is an astonishingly rich archive, probably unique in Africa, dealing with every aspect of Kongo culture at the turn of the century.

In 1936, on the basis of this material, Laman published his *Dictionnaire Kikongo-Français* (LKD), one of the great achievements in Bantu linguistics. It is often possible to relate the entries in the Dictionary to specific passages

in the Notebooks. Laman also compiled a monograph (LKM) on all aspects of Kongo culture by arranging verbatim extracts from the Notebooks under ethnographic headings corresponding to the profile of his questionnaire; each extract was identified by the author's name and thus by the district from which he came. This work was never published. Laman was persuaded to write a Swedish version which was edited and translated into English, under the supervision of Professor Lagercrantz, and published between 1953 and 1968, after his death, in four handsome volumes called *The Kongo* (LKI-IV). In this work, however, the original texts have been sorted, dissected, abbreviated and fused, then translated, in such a way that there is no indication who is saying what or with what authority (Janzen 1972).

Of the 68 authors identifiable in the collection, only about twenty are major contributors. Usually, these individuals were also distinguished in the early Church as leaders, evangelists and contributors to *Minsamu Miyenge*. They varied greatly in their qualifications to write as ethnographers. Kionga, for example, joined the Church at a very early age and was probably less than 20 years old when he wrote his notebooks; Makundu, on the other hand, was about 45 at that time, having been converted as an adult. Ten authors are represented in the texts selected here. A summary of what little we know about them follows.

Babutidi Timotio, at Kinkenge, was one of the first mission teachers to learn French well and to teach it regularly. He was in charge of schools at out-stations in Ludima, in French Congo. In 1916, when he was 26 years old, he went on an ethnographic expedition with Laman.

Demvo Thomas was born about 1893 near Kingoyi, where he subsequently taught. He had been under Christian influence from his earliest childhood.

Kavuna Simon was born at a place between Bulu and Nganda, about 1878. He worked briefly for a Swedish official in Bulu, then as a house servant for the SMF in Nganda and elsewhere. Eventually he came to Mukimbungu for schooling. He married in 1909, but his wife died two years later. In 1910, shortly after finishing catechist school, he wrote an article in *Minsamu*



Klonga Aseli

Miayenge urging his compatriots to respect the Ki-Kongo language; decades later, this theme became an important element of Kongo nationalism. He wrote his Notebooks from Nganda, but in 1916-17 he undertook ethnographic work for Laman in the newly opened station of Kolo, among the BaBembe, where he was one of two pioneer evangelists.

Kionga Aseli, born about 1898, in a village near Kingoyi, came to the mission quite young and was educated there. He was Laman's most helpful informant in his



Kavuna Simon

study of tone in the Kikongo language (Söderberg 1985:205).

A.M. Lutangu was in charge of Kimpunga, an out-station of Diadia.

Lutete Esaya, CMA teacher at Lolo and a frequent contributor to *Minsamu Miayenge*, is not mentioned in CMA records, although he must have been one of those chiefly responsible for the considerable success of that station. In May 27, 1916, it was recorded that "although there has been no resident white missionary at this station, strange to say, the services have been better attended than ever before." Lutete was born near Lolo, went to school in Vungu in 1899 and was baptised there.

Lwamba Joseph was another member of the CMA at Lolo.

Makundu Tito, born within a year or two of 1870, was one of Laman's earliest and best assistants in translating the Bible, demonstrating an encyclopedic knowledge of KiKongo. In the course of his long life he served as informant to a number of ethnographers. A text of his, contributed to Nordenskiöld's anthology (1907) attracted the attention of the Swedish churchman and theologian Nathan Söderblom, who popularized the mistaken story that Makundu was a converted witchdoctor (Söderberg 1985:199). Makundu lived and worked at Mukimbungu, near where he was born. After having been a Christian for some time, he lapsed from the faith, marrying two wives and taking to dancing and drink, but he reformed after a warning dream and illness.

Matunta wrote from Musana, where he was stationed as one of the first evangelists there, but he came from a small village northeast of Bulu. He was a frequent contributor of homilies to *Minsamu Miayenge*, and a leading figure among the mission teachers. In 1919 he was assigned to the new station at Madzia, among the BaTeke.

Nsemi Isaki was born about 1888. He is remembered in mission records as an exceptional preacher.

The ethnographic map of Kongo is unevenly represented by the selection of *minkisi* presented here. Their distribution, by mission station and author, is as follows:

Kingoyi

Nsemi: Kipeka, Nkoko Bondo
 Demvo: Kubungu, Mbundu, Musansi, Mutinu,
 Nkiduku, Nkondi, Nzyodi
 Kionga: Mbumba, Mutadi, Nkiduku

Kinkenge, Kinkonzi

Babutidi: Bakulu, Kula, Lau, Lubangala, Matenzi,
 Mayanda, Mbongo Nsimba, Nduda,
 Ndundu, Ngwima

Lolo

Lutete: Bau, Lau, Mabyala, Mbongo Nsimba,
 Nkengele,
 Nkita Nsumbu, Nkoko Bondo,
 Nkondi Me Mamba, Nkubulu, Nsungu
 Lutangu: Mbenza
 Lwamba: Mbumba, Nkondi ya Nsanda

Mukimbungu

Makundu: Kinkuma, Londa, Mayiza,
 Nkondi, Kimpanzu

Nganda

Matunta: Lunkanka, Na Kongo
 Kavuna: Mpiya

The Objects

There is no good translation for the KiKongo word *nkisi* (pl. *minkisi*), because no corresponding institution exists in European culture. In Kongo thought a *nkisi* is a personalised force from the invisible land of the dead; this force has chosen, or been induced, to submit itself to some degree of human control effected through ritual performances. The initiated expert who conducts the ritual is the *nganga* (operator or priest; pl. *ba-*) of the *nkisi*. The ritual may be more or less elaborate, taking from a few minutes to years to complete and requiring the participation of from one person to perhaps a whole village or more; it usually includes songs, dances, behavioral restrictions, special enclosures and prepared spaces, and a material apparatus, all more or less prescribed. The material apparatus includes musical instruments, the bodies of the *nganga* and the initiate or patient, articles of costume, cosmetics, and (though not invariably) a focal object, a composite which is, in a narrow sense, the *nkisi* itself, the

embodiment of the spiritual entity. The potency or sacredness of this focal object extends, however, to the rest of the material apparatus and beyond it to the persons and places required by the ritual, all of which are part of the *nkisi*.

In colonial times, the forces of local administration and the missions, later reinforced by iconoclastic indigenous religious movements, combined to repress the rituals in which *minkisi* were composed and invoked and to deprive them of their political support. *Minkisi* remain an important though furtive part of everyday life, in Zaire as elsewhere in Africa, but they are now rarely visible among the BaKongo, either as spectacular objects or as dramatic performances. A few, sustained by local communities or by individuals who consider themselves heirs to important knowledge, still carry great names from the past, such as Nkondi, but most of them have become anonymous "fétiches" or "remèdes."

Composition

The nkisi-object is thought of as a container for the nkisi-force. Often its "body" (*nitu*) is a gourd, a bag, a bark box, a pot or a snail shell, but it may well be a wooden figure to which "medicines" (*bilongo*) have been added. Without the medicines the container is nothing; if they fall off, the nkisi has been neutralized, polluted or desecrated (*sumuka*).

The composite as a whole contains the following elements. Material such as grave dirt, kaolin (white clay) or stones, taken from the place where the spirit in question abides, metonymically incorporates the spirit in the nkisi. There are also metaphorical materials in two classes, as follows. What Laman calls "the usual medicines," likely to be found in any nkisi, are materials whose names, by folk etymology, evoke the similar names of general capacities with which the nkisi and its nganga are supposed to be endowed. Here for example is a list of such medicines by Matunta (cahier 298):

luyala (a fruit), that the nkisi may "rule" (*yala*) hostile witches;

luhemba (chalk, white clay), that the eyes of the nkisi and the nganga may be "brightened," which is why, when they are preparing medicines, chalk is always the first;

kala zima (charcoal), that it may "strike" (*zima*) all who are evilly disposed;

tondo (a subterranean mushroom), that the spirits be praised (*tondisa*) and the healing process be effective (*tonda mbote*);

nkandikila (a red kernel), to bar (*kandika*) the path by which witches, bad dreams and spirits may come;

luhezomo (fossil resin), that witches, malicious persons and evil spirits of all kinds should flee, just as we flee the flash of lightning (*mpezomo*) in the sky;

ngongo (Calabar bean), that any witch desiring to "eat" the patient should experience anxiety (*ngongo*) and desist;

nkiduku (a nut or kernel), that the patient may be "protected" (*kidukwa*).

The second kind of metaphorical materials is specific to the nkisi in question and is based on visual rather than verbal associations; that is, they evoke a picture of the particular effects this nkisi is expected to produce. For example, the head of a viper suggests that the nkisi will bite its victim, or red color suggests that it will cure bleeding. These elements vary greatly from one nkisi to another. When a wooden figure is included in a nkisi its significance is always part of the visual representation of the spirit's expected effect; it is not an image of the spirit itself.

Lastly, other materials direct the effect of the nkisi towards particular individuals, once again by metonymic incorporation. For example, the shells of peanuts stolen by a thief may be added to the nkisi so that it will know whom to pursue, or a client seeking its protection may put in a piece of his own loincloth. In local theory, these significances are specific, and the composition of every nkisi is rigidly prescribed; in practice there is considerable variation in every aspect.

The object now preserved in a museum as "nkisi such-and-such" may well be only a part of the original material complex. Collectors have shown a preference for figures, more easily read and more readily carried than many other parts of the whole. Such figures may or may not be central to the original nkisi, and may themselves have lost important accoutrements in the process of collection and storage. It has not been possible to examine all of the objects described; some of them are now very fragile.

Much of the difficulty in using Laman's material lies in the absence of indexes. The indexes included in this volume, referring to about 370 minkisi, are by no means exhaustive, but include all the ones discussed at any length in LKM and LKIII.

Classification

It is a mistake to try to classify *minkisi* exactly, since no mechanism existed to produce or enforce taxonomic orthopraxy. Approximate types and classes existed, but often enough the same name was applied to *minkisi* of differing form and function. The most thoroughgoing attempt at classification is a remarkable effort by Marie-Claude Dupré (1975), based exclusively on the chapters devoted to *minkisi* in Laman's third volume (LKIII). Her classification, corresponding to one often used or mentioned by Laman's contributors, groups *minkisi* according to the origin of the animating spirit in earth, water or air. This tripartite division can be further simplified into two: *minkisi* of above (sky, celestial waters) and of below (earth, terrestrial waters). Dupré shows that, in general, forces of above are destructive and masculine, while those of below are feminine and productive.

This classification, however, refers only to *minkisi* that embody *bisimbi*, the so-called nature or local spirits. Other *minkisi*, a relatively small number, incorporate the spirits of ancestors or of vengeful ghosts. Moreover, an entirely different classification, also used by Laman's contributors, is based on function. Ntungu, for example, begins as follows (cahier 407): "The uses of *minkisi* are of different

kinds; some are for healing (*buka*), some for divination (*fiela*), some for judgement and punishment (*zengwa*), some for becoming wealthy and others for protection against witches... *Minkisi* for good fortune are not used for healing, nor are those for judgment, which are used only for curses." Other authors often indicate that healing, divination and revenge are contrasted functions, though some *minkisi* combine them. Some authors employ the names of what appear to be *nkisi*-families, or other categories of an unsystematic character. The classifications attempted in several of the Notebooks, like Ntungu's, usually mix the principles of origin and function, and always degenerate, towards the end, into a miscellany. The classification used in the sections of this book corresponds approximately to Ntungu's.

The *minkisi* for divination to detect witches, thieves and adulterers mostly seem to deploy the power of ancestral spirits (*bakulu*, *minkuyu*), who are appropriately authoritarian and aggressive. Nearly all of the "healing" *minkisi* are derived from water spirits and the majority of them cause possession. The other kinds are mixed in origin, but overwhelmingly masculine in character, often specifying that contact with women profanes them.

Texts, Translation and Vocabulary

Many of the original notebooks are barely legible; it is a relief to turn to the KiKongo monograph (LKM), in which the material is typed, apparently by Laman himself. He did not scruple to improve his contributors' spelling and grammar in the course of typing. In addition, during his linguistic studies and the writing of his Dictionary (LKD) he developed a better orthography than the one that had been taught to mission converts and remains in standard use today. LKM is transcribed into this new style, in which vowel length is indicated and vowels are distinguished from glides (semi-vowels). (LKM and LKD also distinguish between labiodental and bilabial /v/; LKD distinguishes /n/ from /n'/ = /mu-/. No effort has been made to follow these practices here). Some of the texts in this book are transcribed from the manuscripts, others from LKM. The latter have been checked against the manu-

scripts as far as possible. The originals, though hard to read, include Laman's own marginal annotations, in a mixture of KiKongo and Swedish (itself often illegible!), which are useful aids to translation. It has also been possible to correct errors of transcription and omission in LKM. Words in square brackets in KiKongo text indicate insertions in the MS by Laman; similar brackets in English text indicate insertions by translator. Question marks in KiKongo text indicate problems of legibility; question marks in English parallel text indicate problems of translation.

The greatest aids to translation are of course Laman's Dictionary, based on the notebooks, and his own translations, subsequently rendered from Swedish into English for publication. It is not surprising that more errors were introduced in the course of these several transformations.

The English texts also represent considerable rearrangement and condensation of the originals, and include occasional mistakes by Laman himself, resulting from haste or in some instances from misunderstanding of the substance.

Much of the material on *minkisi* is in any case untranslatable, because essential words (such as *nkisi* itself) convey concepts without parallel in European languages and because the recitations and songs of the *banganga* were intended to be understood only by initiates. Even when not intentionally esoteric, the texts describe rites, gestures and artefacts many of which no longer exist or at least are not widely known in Kongo today, though apparently similar performances can be observed in other parts of Zaire.

The translations offered here tend deliberately towards excessive literalism, so that those with some knowledge of this or similar languages can more easily make connections with the original. Those who know KiKongo well will not need any translation, though experience shows that even native speakers often have difficulty following these accounts of ancient rituals, written by men not practiced in expository prose. Instead of settling on a standard gloss for a given KiKongo term, the translation uses any of several approximations, as best suits the English. Occasionally, an English idiom is used that seems to fit exactly the sense rather than the words of the KiKongo. When translator's best efforts seem to produce only obscure or grotesque results he gives up, like Laman before him, and lets the KiKongo stand for those better qualified to understand it.

Besides *nkisi* (fetish, charm, power object, spirit), *sumuka* (to be profaned, polluted, desecrated, neutralized) and *nganga* (priest, expert, operator, owner of a *nkisi*), essential words include *vanda*, to compose or invoke a *nkisi*,

especially one that is to attack enemies; *koma*, lit. to nail, but also to invoke and even to compose a *nkisi*; *bilongo*, ingredients of *nkisi*, medicines; *teba*, to scrape off small quantities of medicines for inclusion in *nkisi*, or to prepare and lay them out for inclusion; *kyese*, which Laman often translates as "happiness" but which is in fact madness, as Ntungu describes it: "The *minkisi* of *kiese* all cause the same symptoms. When they seize someone he laughs excessively, says a great many useless things, moves erratically and tries to hide in the forest, where his food is the snail and the centipede."

The presentation of the texts strives for some literary as well as ethnographic variety. In general, if a text is adequately presented in LKIII it has not been repeated here; in a few instances the KiKongo is of so little interest that it has been omitted. Unfortunately, but not surprisingly, despite the common framework of Laman's questionnaire the accounts vary widely in what their authors chose to include and in the explicitness with which the objects and rituals are described. Nevertheless, the immediacy of these reports is unmistakable and the wealth of cultural detail they offer is endlessly rewarding to the careful student.

Kongo *minkisi* in Africa and the Americas are described in detail by R.F. Thompson in ch.2 of his *Flash of the Spirit* (1983). Symbolic processes are explained by A. Jacobson-Widding in her *Black-White-Red as a Mode of Thought* (1979). Kongo religion as a whole is analysed in W. MacGaffey, *Religion and Society in Central Africa* (1986), which relies on a number of the Notebooks by Laman's associates. The original Notebooks have been microfilmed and are available in that form from Riksarkivet, Stockholm. Laman's typed monograph is available in microfilm from the Center for Research Libraries, 6050 Kenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60637.

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DIVINATION

Minkisi were used to find out and correct the causes of misfortunes of all kinds. In the nineteenth century Bakongo attributed afflictions to ancestral spirits, local or nature spirits, malevolent and self-seeking neighbors (witches, thieves), or to minkisi themselves. A residue of problems was attributed to God (Nzambi), meaning that nothing could be done about them. The first step was to consult a diviner, who would identify the cause. Diviners, such as nganga Mutadi (from *tala*, to look) were equipped, through their nkisi, to detect occult forces at work; for example, which nkisi was responsible for a disease. The spirit force behind the diviner's nkisi often made its indications by some form of trembling (*tuntuka*), regarded as a sign of possession by the spirit, or it affected the operation of some device. One such device, used by itself or in conjunction with a nkisi, was a special sort of fly-whisk, *mpiya*, which shook when the nganga was "getting close."

If a nkisi was held to be responsible, the sufferer was recommended to propitiate it by observing its rules, which usually included food and behavioral avoidances and possibly an offering. Often, the process of propitiation amounted to an initiation into a regular cult of the nkisi in question, whereby the sufferer, now cured, became its owner or priest, qualified to treat similarly afflicted persons in the future. Such a professional skill entitled the nganga to what were sometimes considerable fees, a valuable source of income. If an ancestor were said to be responsible, some conflict within the matrilineal descent group was indicated, which might be resolved by the participation of its members in propitiatory exercises. To blame a misfortune on local spirits (*simbi*) was to indicate a problem in the local community, or an infraction of rules relating the people to the forces of the environment. The diviner, in selecting a cause, also selected a course of action, and thus acted as a kind of traffic policeman for the desires and tensions in the lives of his clients.

If he identified a witch as responsible for the problem, the accused was likely to deny it. In serious cases (theft, adultery, death), an ordeal might be resorted to. The most widespread major ordeal in Central Africa, much written about, was the administration of a vegetable strychnine poison (in Kongo, made from the bark of the *nkasa* tree, *Erythrophloeum guineense*), which was supposed to pierce the witchcraft substance (*kundu*) of the suspect and cause him to defecate and to fall in a faint. He would then be killed. *Nkasa*, though poisonous enough in the right dose, was not thought to work chemically; it was a kind of dirt that sought out the "dirt" of *kundu* and did no harm to those who were "clean," or free of witchcraft. Moreover, a wealthy suspect could appoint a slave to take the test for him, thus making the slave into a kind of divinatory device himself.

During the great social upheaval caused by the penetration of European organizations into Kongo from about 1880 until the time when these Notebooks were written (1912-1916), there was an epidemic of poison trials as communities sought to protect themselves from the witches they believed to be causing the appalling rise that they were experiencing in the deathrate. The deaths, wiping out whole villages (by some estimates, two thirds of the population) were in fact caused by sleeping sickness and malaria as the invaders disturbed the ecological balance that had formerly existed between the population and the disease vectors in the environment.

Besides *nkasa*, other ordeals were used for less serious offences. Mbundu was another vegetable poison, administered (in the version described for us here) to a professional poison-taker -- again, a human "device." Bau was a hot iron ordeal, in which the nganga applied the heated blade of the knife to a suspect's leg; if the skin did not burn, he was innocent. As the newly imposed colonial authorities took control, one of their first moves was to attempt to suppress the use of *nkasa*. In the Ludima valley, villages

resorted to nkisi Ngwima for some years, in an attempt to evade the ban. Later, after the rise to fame of the prophet Simon Kimbangu in 1921, prophets of various kinds, act-

ing in the name of the Holy Spirit, took over the task of identifying witches and healing those who suffered from occult afflictions.

Bau

The several descriptions of the hot-knife ordeal do not make it clear why there should be a nkisi at all as part of the apparatus; one would expect the hot iron to be sufficient by itself, adjudging guilt or innocence by burning or not burning the suspect's leg. The exception is Lutete's, in which it is explained that nkisi Bau (also Mbundu, q.v., and Ngombo) reveals the truth of the matter to nganga before the ordeal takes place.

Bau means "heat." The example in the collection (19.1264, from "Mayombe") consists of a woven raffia bag inside another one, both now disintegrating. Inside is, inter alia, a little clay pot, with a stone in it, which was made with seven small holes pierced through its bottom. "A person under suspicion might also be given a bowl in which to fetch water from a spring. The bowl, however, has many small holes in the bottom, which may be blocked up with slime, but which may also be clean. When the water is fetched, it leaks out on the way home, and the unfortunate man is then found guilty" (LKII:129). Other ingredients include the skull of what may be the *ntombo* bird, whose cry foretells the future. According to Lutete, this is the version of Bau that detects witches, rather than the kind that exposes thieves.

Lutete, cahier 221; Lolo

Bau vo sengwa kya tiya kyau mpe kilenda zaikisa ndongi bu kakongele yandi nganga, kansi bau byena mpila zole biena mu zaya ndoki, byankaka ye byena mu zaya miivi vo ku nzengolo a nkanu byankaka. Mu Bau bizayanga miivi balenda vuukisa muntu ye balenda kumbedisa. Bau bizayanga ndoki byena mu mafutu ye bau byanzaila mwivi byena mu binkungu vo mu kaka [kinkungu]. Mu vaana nsiba i mpila angana mosi. Mbala [mwanki] yandi yibidi kyo kuta ntima, kuta mabadi e bau sala nkyevo ka, kyaka yibidi kuta nima, kuta mabadi, bansavula mpati, bansavula nga, bu burna.



19.1.1264. Bau, nkisi for the hot-iron ordeal. Raffia bag 14.5 cm. high. Mayombe (Lolo).

Bau, or hot iron, can render a judgment when nganga acts as a diviner; it has two modes of operation, in one of which it detects witches and in the other it identifies thieves and settles disputes. It convicts or vindicates persons accused of theft. The kind of Bau that detects witches is in a bag; the kind that exposes thieves is in a little covered basket. The invocation is the same: "If so-and-so stole it, bind his chest, bind his belly, make his ribs stick out.." [etc.]

Mbonzo i basadilanga mu bau i makaya ma malemba-lemba ye ma bolongo ye makaya ma mbala mfuba. Makaya ma mbala mfuba masadisanga ye tabilanga muntu mu vuukisa muntu mu nkanu andi, kadi vo nganga una kusa makaya momo mu kuulu kwa muntu, vo mbeelee yatuya yina tuulwa muna, buna kuulu ka kulendi via ko.

Mu ngombo vo mu mbundu vo mu bau, banganga bana teka sakumuna nkisi ye leeka, buna nkisi una zaikisa mu ndozi kwa mfumu andi vo ndoki vo mwivi evo ka ndoki ko evo ka mwivi ko nganga una zaikuswa kwa nkisi. Nganga mpe lenda sadisa wabangukwa, nkisi bu kalembwa kunzaikisa vo ndoki vo mwivi. Basolulwa mu mayembo ma nganga ye byuvu, nganga una vewa byuvu ye zaya dyambu dya nsweki dyena mu kyuvu. Vo nganga una zaya dyaswekama bu keti fyela, buna lenda solula wayiba vo mwivi.

The potion they use in Bau consists of *lemba-lemba* leaves, *bolongo* leaves, and leaves of [the inedible yam] *mbala mfuba*. The last are used to protect and vindicate the accused, because if the nganga rubs them on his leg the flesh will not blister when the hot iron is applied.

In Ngombo, Mbundu and Bau alike, the priests first invoke their nkisi and then sleep; the nkisi then tells its master in a dream whether so-and-so is a witch or a thief. If the nkisi has not revealed anything, the nganga himself may act as an oracle: people put questions to him while he is in a state of possession; he gives answers, knows what is hidden behind the questions, and can identify a thief.

Mabyala ma Ndembe

In the 1880s, Mabyala ma Ndembe was one of the two best known *minkisi* in the area between the Loango coast and the Ludima valley. Dennett (1887; 62, 67) describes it as one of a group of *minkisi* into which nails were driven, on payment to a nganga, to save a petitioner from evil. "The nganga of M'bialli Mundembi wore a hideous mask and nothing else but a fringe of pieces of cloth about his loins, with little bells hidden in it."

The example collected by Lutete of Lolo, on the western edge of this area, is a relatively minor nkisi, used for divination. It consists of a small figurine with an enormous medicine pack, occupying its entire torso, and a medicine gourd and a packet, made in raffia cloth, attached to the figure's left arm. It is possible that these three items are three *minkisi* forming a group, as Lutete describes them in the text that follows, although the bag is considerably poorer than the bag he describes as the nkisi Solo.

Also in the collection is an amulet associated with Mabyala, and a kind of junior relative of Mabyala called Nsiba Mabyala ma Ndembe, on which Lutete has this to say: "Nsiba Mabyala Ma Ndembi, if a child suffers from *mbazu* (fever), then pound red camwood and paint him



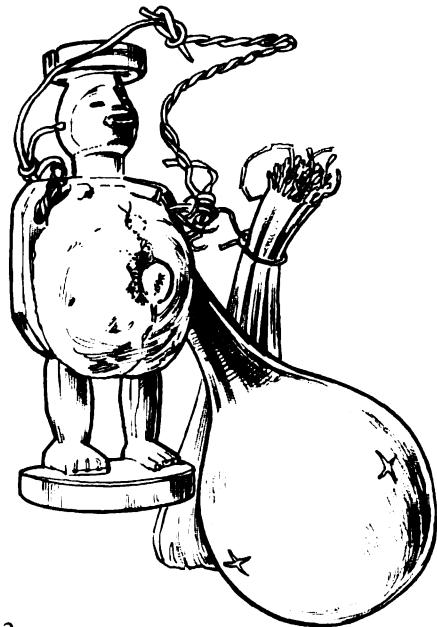
19.1.1185. Amulet for nkisi Mabyala Mandembe. Lolo.

with it. The spell (*pandulu*) is to put an interdiction (*kandikila*)." The name *Nsiba* is not explained; it refers to the horn of a little *nsia* antelope, or a whistle made from such a horn, often attached to *minkisi*.

Lutete, cahier 224:10; Lolo

1. Mabiala vo Mayina. 2. Kimpembe. 3. Solo [ma, = futu diandi]. Mu vanda nkisi miami miena mintatu, ye nkumbu za miau zena va ntandu. Kansi nkumbu ya wa ntatu ka wena diaka ko, wau wakala futu ye minkila mia zingondo ye minkila miabulu bia mpila mu mpila ye minlala mia bantu bafwa mu nkasa, ye minlembo mia bantu bafwa mu nkasa ye mimbiembie mia zinsusu ye nsala zankodi [mbulu nkonko] ye sala kia nkusu. Vana futu diodio vatulwa longo nkumbu a kiau nsolo yankaka kamina ye diambu diena vo longo kiokio kakilendi nenwa ko ye kiau kana bidilanga bana kuiza kunlandi, vo una yamikina mu lumbu kia mvimba buna mu lumbu kiankaka lenda mona bantu bizidi ku nlanda.

19.1.1093. Mabiala Mandembe, nkisi for divination. Anthropomorphic figurine, with calebesh and medicine bag attached. About 17 x 5.5 cm. Lolo



Mabiala or Mayina, Kimpembe and Solo (its bag). To set up these three *minkisi*, whose names are given above. But the third one no longer exists; it was a bag with the tails of *zingondo* monkeys and of all sorts of other animals, together with the loincloths and the fingers of people who had died in the *nkasa* poison ordeal, long chicken feathers, feathers of the *mbulu nkonko* bird, and a parrot's feather. On this bag was placed a medicine called *nsolo* (a bead); [the *nganga*] swallows another and the rule is that it may not be excreted. By means of this bead he can detect [witches?] who come after him; if he cries out ecstatically a whole day, he may see people looking for him on another day.



19.1.1335. Medicine bag for nkisi Mabiala Mandembe, 8.5 x 3.5 cm. Lolo.

Mabiala vo Mayina ye Kimpembe ye Solo kamibedisanga muntu ko, kansi mivandwanga mu diambu dia zaikisa ndoki, ye mu zaya muntu weka yela ye mu zaya vuma kia tobole bandoki bu kana kengidila va lumweno, ibila kiokio mivandulwanga, nga balenda mpe kwau bukila mio zimbevo bu kameni vutula mbevo.

Mpandulu. Mabiala ye Kimpembe bumina tomwa [=fumba] [n]tima buna longo biabi biena tebwa: nkandikila, tondi, semwa, kiala moko, lutete lwa sudia, diba, ngongo nzadi, ndingi, nsimani, mpanza [=mvanzi].

Bu bana teba longo biabi buna bameni kota ku nsi a nlele wandombe ubana tela vo bakotele ku nsi a bivungu bonso bana kala masamba [maduka] ye nkazi a mbwangi bana kota koko, ye bana zenga nsusu ambakala mavunia mena vakosi dia nsusu bana tula va ntima ya Mabiala ye nsuki za yandi una vanda ye za nkazi andi bana koma va ntima zandubi zazole, kadi diodio dina songa vo beka ntwati ye nkisi nadede.

Bu bameni toma ndubi zazole, buna solo dina kuenda tomunua vana fula dia bwala, vana bana tima bulu dina bikwa nkumbu zongo vo yowa, vana mpe bana teba bilongo biabionsono biasonama vana mbadukulu. Bu bana koma futu vana fula vata, bana zenga nsusu yambakala. Dinkondo dina dilwa nsusu zozo dia sele kaka, kansi yandi vendi nkisi lekwa bikana dia mu nsusu ntima. Si kamina mio miankunzu lembwa mio lamba, lekwa kana dia bia lambwa imalu kaka nga ngudi anganga una dia nsusu zandi. Yoyo impandulu mu nkisi miami mizayanga mu tubula bandoki sa vo ingombo ta.

Bu bameni vanda nkisi miomio bana basamunanga nlongo miami. Minlongo: 1. manena kamalendi tundulwa mu nzo ko. 2. dinkondo diayimba kalendi dia ko 3. nsafu kalendi sangana ko 4. zinronzi kalendi zo sangana ko 4.[sic] bitiba nlongo didi bio kalendi kota mu nzo anganga nkisi miomio ko nate kasimba luyangu ye vubakana mwisi, bosi lenda kota 5. ngudi a nzo yabiekwa nlongo muntu wankaka kalendi kwandi kota wo ko Vo Maduka lenda kwandi kota ye mwana mpe lenda kota kwandi. Miomio i minlongo miaminkisi mina keba nganga ye nkazi a zimbwangi.

Mabyala, Kimpembe and Solo do not cause anyone to fall ill; they are composed in order to identify witches, to explain why someone is suffering, and to know the place where a witch may be caught who has been seen in the mirror. That's why they are composed, although they may also treat the sick if their sickness returns.

Composition. When the heart of Mabyala and Kimpembe is being composed, these medicines are prepared: *nkandikila* fruit, *tondi* mushroom, *semwa*, *kialamoko*, *suudya* seed, *diba* mushroom, Calabar bean, *ndingi* resin, *nsimani*, *mvanzi*.

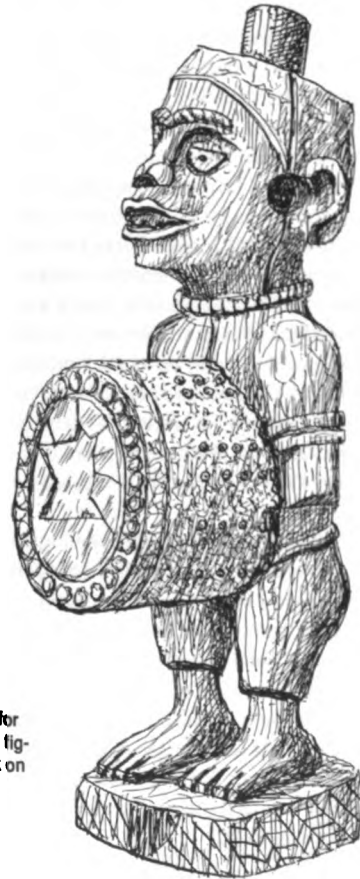
To prepare these medicines, they go under the blanket; that is, all those who are to assist, and "the wife of the possessed" go under a dark cloth, where they kill a cock. Down from the chicken's neck is put in Mabyala's medicine packet. Hair of the composer and of his wife is put into two figurines to show that they are one with the nkisi.

When the two figures have been completed, the bag has to be taken to the edge of the village to be fixed up. There they dig a pit called *zongo* or *yowa*. There also they prepare all the medicines listed at the beginning. When they bury the bag at the edge of the village, they sacrifice a cock. With the chicken they may eat only *sele* bananas. The portion given to him for whom the nkisi is being prepared is the chicken's heart. He must swallow them raw, without cooking them; the legs are the only part that may be cooked when the principal nganga eats his chickens. That is how to prepare these *minkisi*, used to identify witches, for divination.

When they have composed these *minkisi* they announce the following rules: pumpkin seeds must not be shelled in the house; *yimba* bananas may not be eaten; *nsafu*, and *nzonzi* fish may not be eaten in company with the profane. Whoever has eaten forbidden bananas may not enter the house of the nganga until he has been smoked with *luyangu-yangu*. The interior of the house has become sacred and others may not enter. An official assistant or a child may enter. These are the rules that must be observed by the nganga and "the wives of the possessed."

Mbongo Nsimba

Mbongo Nsimba may be the nkisi described by both Lutete (cahier 223) and Babutidi (cahier 16) as Mbongo, since the piece and both descriptions come from the area Laman called Mayombe. Lutete says the nkisi consists of a figurine (*ndubi*, ie., a blank statue not yet consecrated) and a packet, and that it is a nkisi for divination, a function for which the conspicuous mirror on this piece is appropriate. Both descriptions indicate a close relationship between the *nganga* and the dead in the cemetery; the name, *mbongo*, refers to the raffia mats paid to the dead to compose the nkisi (cf. Nduda).



1919.1.511. Mbongo Nsimba, nkisi for divination. Anthropomorphic, male figurine with mirror on medicine pack on the belly. Additional medicine pack missing from the head. Mayombe.

Lutete, cahier 223; Lolo

Mbongo i nkisi mu koodila mbevo mpe, wena mu ndubi ye futu. Kansi nkisi wau wena dyambu dyadi, ka ul-endi komwa kwa banganga ko, kansi bafwa bana wo koma. Bamasamba bana kwenda fila mbongo zole za nkinzi ye ndubi ye lumweno. Bana kwenda fila byo ku bizyami ye sisa byo kuna. Buna kindungu kikwemi ku bwala, buna bafwa bana kwiza bonga zimbongo ye ndubi ye bau bana kwenda koma nkisi. Buna lumbu byole bina vyoka, buna bamasamba bana kwenda bonga nkisi ku bizyami bya vata dyankaka. Buna ndubi yimeni koma ye futu dimeni kubika ye bameni wo zinga ku nsi a matunga nyundu. Bu bana wa kindungu kya bafwa ku bizyami bya vata dyankaka, buna bamasamba bana kwenda wo landa.

Mbongo is a nkisi to restore health to a sick person. It is contained in a figurine and a packet. It has this peculiarity, that it is not composed by the banganga but by the dead. The initiated take two raffia mats of dance quality, the figurine and a mirror to the graveyard and leave them there. When the drum sounds in the village the dead come to take the mats and the figurine and go to compose the nkisi. After two days, the assistants go to the "other village," the cemetery. The figurine has been medicated and the packet prepared, all tied up under a *matunga nyundu* plant. They know to go and fetch it when the drum of the dead is heard sounding in the other village.

Buna mu lumbu kyalanda ngudi a nganga ye mwana a nganga bana nata dyaka minkisi kwa bafwa ye ngudi a nganga una kwenda songa nganga ya moona kwa bafwa ye kidisa ndubi bunzu kwa mfumu yena ku nsi a bafwa. Nganga lukolo fweti zayakana kaka kwa bafwa. Vo kana zayakana ko, vo una monika ku vata dyena bafwa, buna bafwa bana kunkanga ye kunyeta. I bila kyokyo nganga fweti zayakana vana mbadukulu yi kavandidi nkisi. Nganga zazi zina kala ntwadi ye mfumu a bafwa ye nganga luzolo mosi bana kala. Vo mfumu ku nsi a bafwa una tumama luzolo lwa nganga, buna yandi nganga mpe una tumama luzolo lwa mfumu yena ku nsi a bafwa.

Babutidi, cahier 14; Kinkenge

Mbongo, kiteki kya teesila. Nkisi wowo usadulwanga vo muntu bakamane beela. Buna si balanda nganga Mbongo mu konka kani vo nki a ndoki. Nganga yoyo ka yikonkanga bakisi babwididi mbeevo ko, kansi mu konka kaka bila kibakidi muntu beela, kani vo kya bandoki evo bila kyankaka.

Byuvu bakunyuvudilanga i byabi: Ndoki nkento vo mbakala yansimbidi? Buna nganga si kavola kimpambu (dekele) kivwikwa mu nkutu. Kyau kyavwikwa mu nsinga a lusila lwa ndungu mu kutu dya kiteki. Bu kameni vola kimbembele, buna si kanikuna kyo. Bu keti nufuna (funkana) mu kiteki, buna si kavova: Yonso ndoki yimbeki ye bila ki kambakidi, kani mu dyambu dya kakabanga ko, evo mu dyambu dya nkento wa mbote u kakwela ulembolo buta yandi, kansi kakunyambula kwa bisi kanda dyandi mu kunsu diimi ko. Bu bawilu bila bya mpila yoyo, buna i ntumbu kunleekisa, kidi kamvutusa mvutu mu nokokila.

Fuku bu difweni, buna si kakamba bantu: lwenda lwakoola makaya va fulu kina, kadi va kyau bandoki banswekidi. Buna bau i ntumbu mo koola ye vukanga mo mu mbeevo, ndungu bu yeti vova ye bantu bu beti yimbila minkunga ye kina nate ye nganga simbidi mbeevo mu kooko ye kuntedimisa mboki meni. Landila dyodyo, nganga si kavova kwa kabu dya bantu: Beno lukumbakanga bila mu dyambu dya kalembu kulukabilanga. Nkento bwabu lunyambula, kadi si kakabanga kwandi malavu ye kuluyambudila nkento andi mpasi vo luna kunsu vumu. Bu kameni mbukulu, si katambula mbandu miia ye nkombo mu kinganga kyandi.

On the following day the principal nganga and the apprentice take the minkisi once more to the dead. The principal shows the new nganga to the dead and paints on the figurine the likeness of the chief who is in the land of the dead. The apprentice must be known to the dead; if not, and he should appear in the village where the dead are, they will seize him and beat him. So he must be introduced when he first composes the nkisi. These nganga must be in agreement among themselves and with the chief of the dead. If the chief of the dead respects the will of the nganga, the latter must also respect the will of the chief in the land of the dead.

Mbongo, a statuette for divination. This nkisi is used should someone fall ill; then they seek out the nganga of Mbongo to see who the witch is. This nganga does not investigate spirits who may have smitten the patient, but only witches and those who hold grudges.

The questions they ask him are these: "Is the witch who has seized him a man or a woman?" Then the nganga pulls on his little bell that he wears on his nkisi-bag, to which it is attached by a cord from a drum. Having thus drawn it close, he shakes it.

Then he sniffs at the figurine and says that some witch has grabbed him, for whatever reason, perhaps over a share of something, or that after he had married a good woman she failed to bear children because she has not been released by her clan to become pregnant. When they have heard this judgment, they let him go to sleep, that the answer may come to him in the night.

When it is dark he says to the people: "Go cut the leaves in that place, for the witches hide under them." So they collect the leaves and cover the sick person with them, while the drum plays and the people sing and dance. Then the nganga takes the patient by the hand and causes him to arise. After that he says to the crowd:

"You have a grudge against him because you feel you did not get your share. Release the woman; he will distribute palmwine, and you release his wife so that she may become pregnant." After the treatment, the nganga receives his fee of four lengths of cloth and a goat.

Ntangu zankaka vo balendi mu konka bila kya mbeedolo a mbeevo, buna si kafimba ye vutula vo banda ki bayele kuntuula ku nsi a bafwa, lunkamba ngyenda kunlanda ye kumvutula. Buna bau i ntumbu kunkamba vo: Nayendi. Buna si kabonga kiteki ye nkele andi ye kwenda. Bu kalweki ku bizyami, buna i ntumbu veta nkele andi. Mboki si kadutuna misinga mu mooko ye kukizinga mu ntulu, mboki si kakwanga dinkondo dyangana [sic] ye vwika nkele ye dinkondo dyodyo ku nima ye kwiza vutuki ku bwala.

Bu kalweki va bwala, buna bantu i ntumbu kunnyan-guna misinga. Mboki si kavova: Bwabu luteka matu, luteka ndimbikila, ludimba matuukidi koko. Bwabu ntukidi ku bwala bwa binyumba. Se, ngyele bwana vo bameni saasa nitu andi mu bisele-sele, kansi mono invovele ye banyambudi. Mboki si kabonga nkenge nzengele yi kasiidi bwila mu nlangi ye vova: Tala vava i mooyo aku ubavutudi. Mboki si kakanga yo mu kooko bu yena va tende kya nlele. Landila dyodyo, nganga si katambula mfuta andi mbandu (mpata) ia ye nkombo. Bu kameni dyo, i ntumbu kwenda kwandi. Vo mbeevo si kafwa, nganga kalendi vutula mbongo ko.

Sometimes, while seeking the source of an illness, he may inquire and then reply that the witches have taken the sufferer off to the land of the dead, should he go after him and fetch him back? They say, "Go!" So he takes the nkisi and his gun and goes. On arriving at the cemetery he fires his gun. Then he tears down creepers with his hands and ties himself up with them; he cuts a banana stem, ties his gun and the stem to his back and returns to the village.

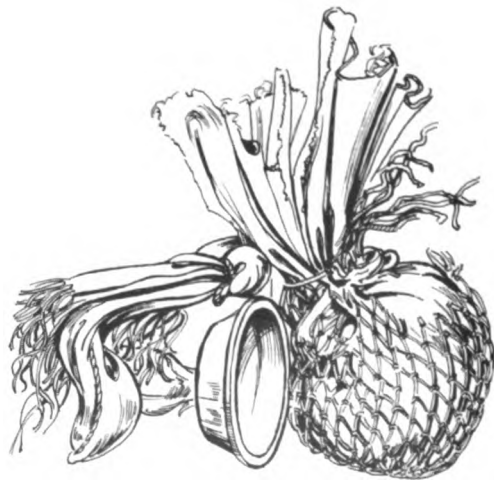
On his return, the people untie him from the creepers. Then he says, "Open your ears, listen carefully, hear what news I bring. I have come from the village of the dead. I went to see those who had cut his body into little pieces, but I persuaded them to let him go." Then he takes a little diving insect that he caught in the water and says: "See, here is your soul that they gave back," and he ties it to the patient's wrist with a rag. After that the nganga accepts his fee of 20 francs and a goat, and departs. If the patient should die, the healer will not return the money.

Mbundu

Mbundu, known to have been used in the seventeenth century and presumably earlier, is made from the bark (and perhaps the leaves) of the *mbundu* tree. Lutete (cahier 221) gives his version of the relationship among the ordeals, although as he describes it the second variety of Mbundu is not a poison at all but a hot-metal ordeal, usually called *bau* or *kisengo*.

Demvo explains how the outcome of the ordeal is manipulated by the nganga according to information gathered among the crowd by his assistants, who thus prepare the way for a verdict that the public is likely to find acceptable; the operator of Mutadi (q.v.) worked in the same way, and similar techniques have been observed in use by diviners in recent times.

According to Lutete (and to other evidence) Mbundu was formerly administered to the accused himself, although Demvo describes the role of an appointed poison-taker. This apparent evolution parallels that of other African poison or-



19.1.553. Net bag containing woven raffia bag of medicines for nkisi Mbundu. Two attached bundles, small wooden dish. Kingoyi.

deals, in which a chicken replaced a human victim. Lutete writes from Lolo, a CMA station near Kinkonzi; Mbundu 19.1177 is from Kinkonzi.

The use of wildcat tails to revive the accused after he has shown his guilt by falling in a faint is explained by a pun: *nsingi*, a wildcat; *n'singi*, a suspected witch (LKD).

The object 19.553 consists of a net bag with a woven raffia bag inside it. There are two attached bundles, both disintegrating, one of which contains herbs; the other, clay. The net bag has at least one tiny bundle tied to its neck. In the neck of the main bag, which is stuffed with dried leaves, is a piece of paper containing the remains of a flower. The whole thing is very smoky. Hung on the outside is a small, neatly carved wooden dish. The smokiness and the dish are both explained in the text.

Demvo, cahier 29; Kingoyi

Mbundu wena nkumbu yoyo diambu dia nkisi wau ulenda kala kedika kwa yau mbo mpe diambu dialukaya lwen nkumbu ti mbundu, kadi yoyo yilenda nuwa.

Mbundu vwilu mu kanda dia mampanda, kadi bisalulu biandi biena mumpanda, bionso bi bamusadilanga ku mpanda kaka, hengo nimbundu beyoyo mbenzi yaba mu bivuku. Bila kiankisi wau kiena mu diambu dia mpaka zansi vo zangolo zena buna yandi nganga Mbundu una dio zenga. Vo bila kiakindoki, vo bila kia buyangi, mpaka mu mbongo zasisa bafwa, bamoyo, bwivi, buna mpaka bu zena vakati ye mavata vo matatu, buna diambu diandi nganga Mbundu ye ntela Mbundu mu sola bungu diodio. Mpaka zozo mpe zina kala za ngolo.

Vo mu mukanunu mukento, buna vo nkento teti vo: Yananikisi waniangila, kansi yandi toko weti kala kwandi, buna una tula lubongo ku mbazi ye nganisa muntu, kidi twazaya vo weti kala. Vo tuudidi, buna ndiena vwidi busi mpe una tula mwana mpe. Buna ndioyo wakwela una simba bantu bobo mboki nisaka nganga Mbundu. Bau basola bantu bole bana kwenda munlanda mu kwiza sa bunganga ye bedisa wonso wukabedisa. Mbundu watuka ku Kindamba kwa wadi Malolo.

Lunitu lwandi lwen mwasalu. Salu diatulwa mu mwankutu fia bifubu. Mwalubaki lwalede ko mu mukole nkutu, mbo nimwakasa. Fulu kiandi una manukwa mu ngudi nzo mu nludi mbela mbela nebaka, kidi wayuwa mbangasi yatia mpasi bilongo kabina kangana mu kiozi ko.



19.1.1177. Raffia bag of medicines for nkisi Mbundu.

Mbundu is called by this name because it tells the truth, and because of the leaves called *mbundu* from which a potion is made.

Mbundu is the kind of nkisi that is invoked, since it is used for oaths and known for its dangers. It is employed in case of serious local disputes, which the priest of Mbundu settles. In case of witchcraft, or adultery, inheritance or theft, or a quarrel between two or three villages, it is the business of the priest of Mbundu and the taker of the poison (Nteela Mbundu) to decide who is in the right. These disputes may be severe.

If a woman accuses a man, saying, so-and-so slept with me, and the man denies it, he will put a raffia cloth outside and nominate someone, so that we may know that he is denying it. Then the owner of the woman also puts forward a person. The husband takes those two people and seeks out the priest of Mbundu. The two who have been chosen will follow him to the ritual, in which whoever is to lose will lose. Mbundu came from old Malolo, in Kindamba.

It has a salu-bag as a body, which is put in a nkutu-bag of pineapple fiber. From the band of the nkutu hang a plate and a rattle. It is kept hung up in the house, in the roof by the wall where it may have heat from the fire so that the medicine will not congeal from the cold.

Bonso mu vanda mwena mpe nkielolo mu diambu diabalonga munkunga mu fuku ye longa bitala bonso ena: Nta, nta, ngo, ngo, madiomina, kaka. Mbo nibadika nkunga wau bonso ena: Ye Kongo dialembo ta mbundue ye bume tate e ta mbundu E bume tate tambundu. Mboki wankaka. E, Malolo bonga wantambika Mbundu amie... Kamba yandi andi ko wasimba busuku na mwini kusubudi mo Mbundu ku bwidi mo Mbundu ko, e Mbunda ebuma! Embundu vengo, evengo, mu vengo monaka, evengo. Mboko mu nsuka bana kuba lusaba bonso mu nkisi miankaka ye tula tadi ku nsi lusaba dibana nikina mukisi wowo ye bilongo. Minlongo mianka miena, muntu kana kala ye nkento mu fuku ko, nate bamana handa wo mboki basa bo.

Lendo kiandi kiena mu zenga mpaka za bantu bu zena ngolo. Bu kameni zenga bobo mbo katambula nsamanu, mwanki nsamanu yakuba yina kala vo nkombo vo ngulu lenda tambula ndiena ngudi a nganga ye ntela mbundu lenda tambula nsusu tatu, kahinia mbatu tanu kalenda baka, kadi ngudi nganga kakutambula nate ntela mbundu katonda, mbo ti ngudi nganga katambula diandi vwa kinganga.

Nganu yandi lenda mona kiese, kadi weti kumuvana mbongo zilenda kala nkunku. Mwanki batangana ti: kaku yena makila mebulu nate una teka yena maku. Babana bafidusu kwa yandi una teka basenda kani vo nsusu zole vo tatu evo mavunga mole, kadi yau kwa yandi bana tambula nsendo, bu bazeyi vo babana bena mpaka bisadi nabisadi bena, buna balenda lomba ntalu yoyo. Bu kaveni nate kana teka tambula ntalu yikaveni kwa benzi mu landa, mbo ti vwa dikasadidi bunganga katambula.

Bilongo bibasadila bianka bonso munkisi miankaka. Kansi biabi biena diswasani momo: Kihiza, mwa mula wankasa mbundu (yakwe bu mu nguba) ye mboko mpemba ye munsoni fuma. Biobio bu bimeni nlunga buna nganga usakumunanga bio mboki biasadulu mu nkisi. Nsakumunu yena bonso ena: tafuna mwalusaku-saku ye ngongo wadi ye kazu, mboko nikama mante, biobio bina kebwa momo ntangu zazonsono mu diambu diasadila bio mu bunganga bwandi.

Mboki yimbila munkunga diaka mikayimbidingi mboki nibadika bakila ye yimbila nkunga wau: Malolo wantambika mbundu amie. E Malolo wantebisa Mbundu amie. Mbo bu keti sabo, weti kwe kidi mamoni va nsoso disu milonga miole, mbo tombola milonga mitatu ha mukumba ye tombola nate mu ntulu muna sukina mingulu ngulu miomio.

The same procedures for composing the nkisi are repeated when they learn chants in the evening, such as: "Nta, nta, ngo, ngo, there it goes!" Then they sing a song: "The person has not been tested, strike, *e bume' e taata, ta mbundu*, etc.;" or "Malolo taught us the art of Mbundu;" or, "He did it neither by night nor by day, Mbundu urinate for him, do not condemn him, put it aside, put it aside!" In the morning they rebuild the enclosure as for other munkisi and put the stone under it on which they prepared the medicines. There are rules, that a man may not sleep with a woman at night until the nkisi has been composed.

This nkisi has the power to settle serious quarrels. Afterwards it accepts a fee; the chief priest gets a pig or a goat, the taker of the poison perhaps three chickens, or maybe five; he gets paid first, and the priest his part afterwards. The priest may not accept his fee until Ntela Mbundu has accepted his. He is very happy to be well paid; hence the proverb, "You will not see the blood of the animal until you first see your own."

Those who are sent to him first pay two or three chickens or a couple of blankets; his people, knowing how serious was the quarrel, may ask for such a price. When the asking fee has been paid, he later accepts the fee for the ritual.

The medicines used are like those in other munkisi, except these that are different: *diiza* cactus, *nkasa* bark, *mbundu*, and a little chalk and yellow ochre. When they have been prepared the priest blesses them for use in the nkisi by spitting over them a mixture of bits of *lusaku-saku*, calabar bean and kola nut, which he keeps handy for use in his work.

They sing songs again and begin to paint themselves and to sing: "Eh, Malolo brought my Mbundu for me, eh, he prepared my Mbundu for me." As they do this, they draw double lines from the corners of their eyes, and three more lines from the navel to the chest.

Nganu mu minlongo kamwena milongo beni ko, kansi mwanki nkento kasimbi wo ko, nate yandi beni wahanda kasimba wo kaka. Nganu mu handa nate bakala bana handa nganu bakento balendi wo handa ko. Nganga lenda biekko mu handa nkisi kwa ngudi nganga bonso bwahandilanganga kwa wamuhandisa wo, yandi fweti songa ngudi nganga kiese mu madia ye malavu mboki kasonga bunganga bwabo mbo kamu tembika wo mu moko. Mboko yandi mwana nganga kaziola mu moko mangudi nziola tatu, mbo yandi ngudi nganga una dima mante mboki kavana wo kwa nganga. Mwanki nkisi fwiti wo tambula kwa ngudi nganga.

Ndieyo watuka ye nkisi wau nkumbu andi Malolo. Niyandi watambika mbundu kwa bankaka vo handisa. Sumuka kwa nkisi kwena, vo ndioyo ntela mbundu una fwa, buna kalendi wo sadial ko, nate kabwesa kila ntela nganga. Ntela mbundu wena lendo kia fuma mu nkisi kaka. Ngudi nganga zaya nlongo biabio ye bia bonso kihiza, nkasa mbundu, biabio kalendi bio songo nsadulu au, nga buna kazaya bio weka mpe ngudi nganga.

Vo nganga una fwa kalendi wo kwe sadidi ko, nate katumisa bangudi bamutudisa yandi mpe, mboki katumba mpe toko dina kala ntela mbundu. Ntela Mbundu kayilendi tumbu gahunda ko, kansi toko kidi kakula ye wo mu buhunda bwandi. Ikuma vo zolele kala ngudi fweti tambula bunganga kwa bangudi zanganga mbo kabikwa ti ngudi nganga yo. Vo yandi vumbudi wo ye tumbidi ntela mbundu, buna nkisi uvedidi.

Salu kianganga mu nkisi wau kiena mu zenga mpaka zena vakati ye mavata, bu beti tula mpaka zangolo buna yandi nganga mbundu una dio bazengili. Mpaka bu bu zena bonso bobo, buna bantu bobo bana sola bantu bole batukidi mu mavata manka mu tukidi zinzonzi zau zeti zonzila ndambu na ndambu. Bu benzi buna bana tambula matapisi bonso ntekedi samuna. Bu bana kwiza, buna balendi finangana kwa bantu ko, nate bana telwa mbila mu kwiza sa bunganga mboko. Bu balweki, buna komisa babana benzi tala nganga nkondi, ta kampe bamutedingi nsamu miansweki. Babana bu mana koma nkondi, buna yandi nganga una kwiza mpe mu koma nkondi ye kadila babana benzi mu landi ti bantededi musamu ko. Bu bameni sa bobo, mboki kalamba madia ye malamau, mboki kasala bunganga.

There aren't many rules, except that no woman may touch Mbundu, only the operator.

The operator may be initiated to it by the same procedure as when it is activated, but he must please the instructing priest with gifts of food and drink. The apprentice rubs the hand of the priest three times, and the priest spits on him to bless him as nganga.

This nkisi was introduced by a certain Malolo, who taught it to others. The nkisi is polluted if Nteela Mbundu dies, and cannot be used until the operator is reconsecrated. The Nteela himself doesn't know much about the nkisi. The priest knows all the medicines, such as *diiza*, *nkasa*, and *mbundu*, and how to use them.

If the priest dies the nkisi is also useless until the priests have consecrated a successor, and chosen another Nteela as well.

The latter cannot be an elder, but a young man who can grow up with it.

If he wishes to be a priest he must be trained by the senior priests. If he has composed the nkisi and initiated a Ntela Mbundu, the nkisi is purified.

The work of the priest of this nkisi is to settle serious disputes in the villages. When there is a dispute, the people choose two who come from villages other than those to which the disputants belong. When they arrive, they accept a fee, as I have already explained. On the way, they may keep company with people until they are told what the ritual is about. Upon their arrival, they press close to those who have come to watch the priest of Nkondi, perhaps to be told secret things. When they have invoked the Nkondi, the priest comes and does the same, until they have told him what the story is. After that he prepares food and drink, and begins the ritual.

Babonsono bamana vwanda nabita-bitu mbo nibadika sa bunganga, bu kama-na kila yandi bende mamoni, mboki teka sa mpe bitolo bonso bwabu: Nta, nta, ngo, ngo, madiomina, kaka, yimbila nkunga wuna wa Malolo mboki kila ntela mbundu. Bu kasa bobo, wengi teba buma bikana kwiza nwiika ntela mbundu. Bilongo biobio ni mwafila fiehiza ye mwankasa fila, mbundu, biobio bina tulwa mu mwalubaki mbo ni yitila mwamalavu mo mu lubaki lwa Mbundu ye wwatikisa mboki mu nwiika bio ntela andi Mbundu.

Mbo babana basola mu vana misibu, bana kwiza yabole wankaka mu ndambu yanka wankaka mu ndambu yanka. Yondo wena mu ndambu yibeti kwikila diambu ni una tona vana misibu miami, Kamba me kwandi nakuyangila busuku namwini, mbwila mo Mbundu nga ka nsubidi mo Mbundu ko e, Mbundu ebu ma. Kansi vo meko namuyangila buna nsubila Mbundu nga kambwidi mo Mbundu ko, e Mbundu vengo, vengula, vengo. Mbo wahika mpe bu kavioki: Kamba yandi andi ko wumu subila Mbundu nga kabwidi mo Mbundu ko e Mbundu, ebuna. Nga ho ti yandi wamubwila Mbundu nga kasubidi mo Mbundu ko e, Mbundu e buma.

Mboki yandi nganga una bwesa hioka siba bonso butedi babana mu diambu diatoma visikisa ntela Mbundu andi momo be mo matedi yobobo. Bu kameni sa bobo, toneni nkunga wau: E kongo dialembo ta mbundue, ebuma tate. Tambundu ebume tate, bu keti sa bobo, buna weti mudiengidila kwakuna buna ni mukunga kaka basimbidi va nwa kaka. Ebuma tate, Ebuma tate. Mbo yandi yondo ntela yoyo buna nimoyo keti fwentisa beni, nkina ti bilongo biobio biabio bieti saka bonso bobo mu moyo. Mbo yimbila nkunga wau wa Malolo watambika Mbundu ame. Mboki yimbila wau E Mbundu buma kani, ebuma, ebuma Mbundu buma kani ebuma, ebuma Mbundu buma kani ebuma. Tombokila ha, ebuma tombokila ha. Tombokila, tombokila, ebuma Kanga! Kuta! Buna yandi weti sudisa moyo beni beni. Ku yandi nganga buna weti teba bimpanzingila ye weti kamba: muntu kana hiaka mu nandi ko. Mbo nibonga nkunga E Mbundu vengo, e vengo, E Mbundu vengo e vengo. Vo ndiyo weti kala una nunga, buna yandi ntele Mbundu una hengola nlele vo taba ye suba. Buna ndiyo una kala kiese ye kubusa tia twatwingi ye milolo bakento ye babakala.

Everybody sits crowded around when the ritual begins. When he has painted lines on himself and intoned, "*Nta, nta, ngo, ngo, madyomina, kaaka*" [indicating the influence of the spirit], and sung the song about Malolo, he paints the Nteela Mbundu. The medicines (*diiza, nkasa, mbundu*) are put in the plate with palmwine and crushed into a potion for Nteela Mbundu to drink.

The two who have been chosen to swear are brought forward, one on one side, one on the other. The one against whom the charge is brought takes oath as follows. "If I have fornicated with you by night or by day, may Mbundu condemn me, may he not urinate for me, Mbundu e buma. But if not, then urinate for me, let me not be condemned, put aside, put aside!" [etc.]

Then the priest causes the other side to swear, so that Nteela Mbundu may well understand both sides. Then he sings, "The suspect has not been tested, eh, strike, may the poison strike, tat'e," and makes Nteela Mbundu run about. Nteela Mbundu drinks the potion.

More songs, while Nteela Mbundu gyrates, writhes and dances to get the medicine well into his belly: "Hey, rise up! rise up! Mbundu, strike! seize! [...]"

The priest snaps his fingers. "Eh Mbundu, do it, do it!" If the one who denies the charge wins, Nteela Mbundu puts aside his loincloth and urinates; whereupon the winner is delighted, and his party fires salvoes, while men and women shout triumphal cries.

Nganu hoti yandi wabela, buna yandi ntela Mbundu wuna kiyeta kibwa kia masengoka ye kala nakonono. Buna babana babesanga ti kambi ngeye aku ko, buna yisuba, nge ti ngeye yikubwela, buna babana heta tia ye milolo. Yandi nganga wuna hioka hoho ye mu binduka mbinduka tatu. Mbo ni mu tukuna minlembo ye ta. Kangula! Bindula, mbo hemona mu makutu kidi kasungama, mwanga.

Bu bameni sabobo, buna yandi bunganga bu meni kwandi nialu kaka, nga ye tula di mu kutu, mbo kabadika lomba vwa yonso ntalu yika zola nate ni yoyo kaka bonso ntekedi sonika ku ntuala.

Diswasani diena mu nkisi wau. Ngudi nganga lenda komba mbundu kansi ntela mbundu kalendi yo kombisa ko, yandi wasihu mu zenga mpaka ye telama va mbazi nene mu tatika kozi ye songa mbula kwa bantu, kati buko vo busi songa kaka, ka nsoni ko.

Lutete, cahier 221; Lolo

Mbundu i nkisi mpe. Bu bakombanga nti a mbundu ye sadila wo mu nkisi i dyau nkumbu yena vo nkisi a Mbundu.

Muna nsi a nkulu mbundu kaka basadila mu zaya ndoki, kansi mvutulu a ndinda mu mpondolo ka yakala ngolo ko bonso nkasa. Mu ntete vo muntu wasoluka mu mbundu vo i ndoki siba kunkandula ye kumfuula, kidi kafuta mbongo ye bina byafutwa mu nsi a nkulu. Bu bakondolo zimbongo, baluta sadila mu futa bantu mu muntu bwidi mbundu. Muntu wafwa, bu balanda nganga Mbundu ye solula bandoki. Ndoki bu kasolokele, buna si ba kunnwika mbundu. Mbundu ka yilukwanga ko, kansi nunga kwena mu suba, vo subidi, buna kena ndoki ko. Kansi vo wena ndoki i bimbidi kaka kalendi suba ko, kansi bu kameni nwa mbundu una zumbuka dimbu bitendolo nlonga wa luvemba va nsi. Vo una kwenda ye vutula mu nkumbu zole, buna kena ndoki ko, kansi vo wena ndoki bu bameni kunkanga nsibu, buna una dyata va luvemba, buna vo ndoki, mu nsiba mina myau kana bwila mbundu.

Mu nsi a nkulu mu ntama beni basadila mbundu kaka. Mbundu i nkisi watuntukwa kwa muntu mosi. Wau wazaikisa ndoki ye mwivi ye nzuuza. Mbundu bu kazaikisa ndoki, buna muna nsi a nkulu ntama, ndoki bu kazakana fweti futa muntu ukadiidi, una toma muntu mpe, kansi ndoki kana vondwa ko.

If he loses, Nteela Mbundu lies on his back all stiff as though he were dead. Then they try to revive him and get him to urinate. The priest comes by and attempts three times to raise him, pulling on his fingers and saying, "Let go, stand up!" and blowing in his ears to revive him.

After that the ritual is over, except for paying the fees asked, as I have already written.

There's one point of difference in this nkisi: only the priest may scrape the mbundu-bark, not the Nteela Mbundu, whose job is to settle disputes by standing up in public and fall down as though dead, or show his backside to the people; even in the presence of his sister or mother-in-law it is not shameful.

Mbundu is a nkisi. They collect the *mbundu* plant to use in the nkisi, which is why it is called Mbundu.

In the old days only Mbundu was used to detect witches, but it was not severe in obtaining vengeance for death, like *nkasa*. If someone was identified as a witch by Mbundu they would first beat and interrogate him, to make him pay the money and other things that were paid in those days. If he had no money, slaves would have to be paid on his account. If someone died, they would get nganga Mbundu to reveal the witches. Once identified, the witch was made to drink *mbundu*. It was not vomited; to win was to urinate. If you did that, you were no witch, but a witch who drank it would be unable to. After taking the potion he would upset the signs marked in white on a line on the ground. If he could negotiate the line twice he was no witch, but if he were one, after they had administered the oath to him he would walk on the chalk, the oath having caused him to fail the test.

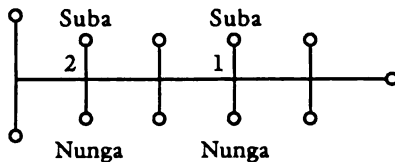
In remote times they only used Mbundu, a nkisi that affected only one person. It revealed witches, thieves and adulterers. When Mbundu revealed a witch, in the old days he was required to pay, perhaps another person, for the one he had eaten; but he was not killed.

Kansi bu bamona vo bantu fwa ye fwa, buna nganga Mbundu wazaikuswa kwa Mbundu ya ntete vo: Tala mu dyambu dya Iwasolula muntu vo yandi i ndoki, kansi bu lukubayambulanga, i dyanu lufwa lutatameno mu beno, kansi lutomba nti wanka mu mfinda wau una luta zaikisa ndoki ye ndoki bu kadiidi wo, fwa si kafwa kaka. Buna nganga Mbundu wakonga nti myena mu mfinda ye wabakula nti wowo i nkasa. Buna babadika dia nkasa, kansi mu nkisi a Mbundu babadikila tubudila bandoki. Muna ntete batubula ndoki mosi ye bamvaana nkasa ye wafwa. Buna babadika mona kimpozya-mpozya (mpongoso yafyuma), kansi ndiikusu a nkasa yabadikila ku mbu, kuuna mpe kwatuuka nganga Mbundu ye nkisi a Mbundu. Wanga umwangananga mu nsi ya mvimba.

Nsibu mya Mbundu

E, bayaaya ngweno, nge Mbundu bu itokele wedi mona vo ka yandi ko undiidi, nge Mbundu kuta ntima, kuta mabadi, rrr Mbundu mpengo, yandi undiidi kuta ntima, kuta mabadi rrr Mbundu kama.

Nnaku



Dimbu kyokyo kyasonwa va nsi ye yandi nwini mbundu una tangama dimbu kyokyo, kansi mu dimbu kyaia mwena mbwilu, vo nsamu wakedika, vo vunina bamvunini, buna una sukisa mu zumbuka dimbu. Vo sukisi ya ntete, buna mu mvutuka ya nzole una vutukila manima manima ye nganga una kanga dyaka nsibu. Buna una vutukisa, vo mambu mena kedika, buna una nunga mpe mu dimbu kyaia vo dikabangukulu vo dikavanga buna muna dimbu kia ia weti zakama. Vo una bwa va nsi, buna una fwa, kansi buna mu nswalu bana kunkandula minkila mya nsingi. Wowo i nnaku [nwina] wa ntete.

But if they saw that many people were dying, the priest of Mbundu would be advised by the first Mbundu: "See, because you identified someone as a witch and then let him go, death continues among you. Look for another plant in the forest which will better detect the witch; and when he has eaten it he will die." So the nganga Mbundu looked for other plants in the forest and discovered *nkasa*. So they began to take *nkasa*, although it was with nkisi Mbundu that they had first nailed witches. They found one, gave him *nkasa*, and he died. At that they were a little afraid.

But the *nkasa* ordeal came from the ocean, whence also came the priest of Mbundu with his nkisi. It spread throughout the land.

The invocation to Mbundu

Sirs, if Mbundu misses the mark, if it is not he the guilty one; Mbundu, if he is the witch, rrr! bind his chest, bind his belly!

The test

Mbundu ya Nkangudi



This design was drawn on the ground and the one who had drunk *mbundu* would pace it. But on the fourth mark there was a trap. If his story were true, and the accusation a lie, he would succeed in passing the mark. After his first success he went back to the start, where the nganga would administer the oath a second time. If he were in the right he would succeed; if he were revealed and judged, he would tremble at the fourth mark. If he fell down, he failed, but he was immediately struck with the tails of wildcats. This is the first test.

Mbundu ya nkangudi yayi yilutidi lendo ye ngolo, kadi nkangudi utuulwanga va tuya, tuula nlunga wa nsongo ye dingongo ye makafuna ye maazi ma ngazi, buna vo wavanga nkanu, buna una bonga nlunga mu benga kyeti leema (kadi maaka ma nsafu mena moko), una vutuka kooko kwaku mwena nlaki una bonga nlunga vo dingongo, vo via ko, buna nungini. Kansi vo una lembana bonga dingongo ye nlunga, vo mu kindoki bangukulu, buna bazeyi vo undoki. Vo mwivi bangukulu, bu kalembana bonga dingongo vo nlunga, buna bazeyi vo mwivi kwandi. Mu nnaku mya nkisi myami vo ndoki vo mwivi bababuka, buna bafuta kaka, bu balembolo nunga, vo bau banungini, buna bau bana futwa. Mvutulu a ndinda mu nkasa yakala ngolo. Kadi vo muntu una neena nkasa evo bwa vindu, buna una vondwa kaka, vo bungi [meeso zyeta] mpe una vondwa kaka.

The pot Mbundu is much stronger and harder. The pot is put on the fire, with a copper bracelet in it, a Calabar bean, palmtree fiber and palm oil. At the trial, the suspect has to pluck the ring out of the blazing heat (there is also *nsafu* resin in it). If he can get the ring or the bean without burning himself he has won. If he fails to do so, he is revealed as a witch. Similarly for a thief.

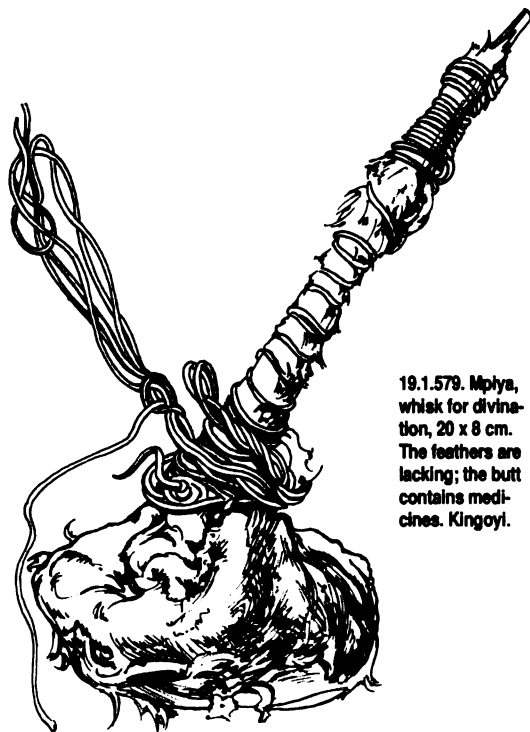
In this test by these *minkisi*, a thief or witch who is burned must pay; but if they pass then they are paid. In the case of *nkasa* the penalty was much worse. If the suspect passed dirt, or became dizzy, he would be killed.

MPIYA

A *mpiya* is a diviner's whisk; it is and is not a *nkisi*. Objects of this type are often mistaken for chiefs' or lawyers' whisks (*nsyensye*, *nsyese*). *Mpiya* is a form of ancestor shrine, that is, a composite object in which is housed the spirit of a deceased relative who has indicated in a dream his desire to be of immediate help to the living. It is used, like a *nkisi*, for divination and protection, but it represents a spirit identified by a kinship link to the owner rather than by its specific powers, as is a *nkisi*.

In a long and interesting essay on *minkuyu* (ancestors; also, malicious ghosts), Kavuna of Nganda describes how the spirits of deceased clansmen can be incorporated in figurines, the cloth and fibre figures called *muzidi* (Soderberg 1975), in *mpiya* whisks, and finally in graves. Differing in their degree of portability, as do *minkisi* in similar series, all are to be regarded as ancestral shrines.

The first reason Kavuna gives for composing a *Mpiya* is that a man may wear it on the strap of his shoulder bag (*nkutu*), which would itself contain powerful medicines. The stone figure (*ntadi*) of an important man shows him carrying such a bag, with the plume of something like *mpiya* just as Kavuna describes it (Thompson and Comet



19.1.579. *Mpiya*, whisk for divination, 20 x 8 cm. The feathers are lacking; the butt contains medicines. Kingoyi.

1981: fig.74, 75). Such a bag is called *nkutu a nyondo*, from *yondo*, "plume."

Of the Museum's examples of *Mpiya*, one from Kingoyi (19.579) and one from Lolo (19.642), the latter is in better condition; it corresponds closely to Kavuna's description. The handle is made of a cloth tightly sewn onto a cylinder; below it, the butt is wrapped in fur. Above the cloth there is a section to which has been tied what appears to be chicken down and a piece of the hide of some hairy animal. The top or plume consists of rooster feathers.



12. "19.1.642. *Mpiya*, whisk for divination, 59 x 40 cm. Kolo, Mouyondzi, Republic of Congo."

Kavuna, cahier 65; Nganda

Bila kiampiya? Bila kiampiya hidika kiena kiampila tatu. 1. Mbatu muntu unatanga mpiya mu sa kitoko kiandi mu nkole ankutu. 2. Mbatu hana muntu wena mpiya mu fiedila manga ye nukuta yo ye pekuzula yo ha koko ye songa yo fula na fula mu mahambu manzila mu nsisi za mfiedila ye vumu kia kinganga. Mbatu hana muntu wena ye mpiya mu sadila yo mu minzingu nwana, kadi mpiya yisadulwanga beni ha kati amvita. Kadi muntu bu keti kwe yambi nzongo ye hekuzuka, buna ukwe ye hekulanga sambu ye sambu. Bu beka mu kwenda mu mvita, buna mpe bafiedilanga mu mpiya, kidi bazaya nani walwala ye walembwa lwala ye wafwa ye vuka, buna zaila mu mpiya.

3. Bbasadilanga mu kotisa nkuyu mu kiteki vo mu muzidi, buna mpe basadilanga mpiya, kadi bu bakumanga nkuyu, buna mu tuntuka, kansi buna mpe ye mpiya ha koko. Mu mpiya mwena kibakala beni. Bankaka bakotisanga nkuyu mu mpiya. Kadi vo mpiya yikondolo nkuyu mu kati, buna kayena lekwa ko, ye mpe ka yilendi sadulwa mu fiela vo mu kuma nkuyu ko. Mboki yayonso yamfiedila manga mu bambevo ye mu bamivi ye mu minloki ye mu bankwa miamakundu, yena mu mpiya. Basadilanga mpiya mu fiela. Vo bakondolo yo, buna ka balendi zaba mbiki ya biti biabilokolo ko. Kadi kiongo diela diau diena mu mpiya. Ka mu mpiya yau kibeni ko, kansi kiongo i nkuyu wena mu mpiya ukubazaikisanga ye kambanga nzila zazonsono zamfiedila.

Mpiya are employed for three reasons. A man may carry *Mpiya* in order to decorate the shoulder strap of his carrying-bag. Or 2. he may have a *Mpiya* in order to seek auguries, to investigate them, to agitate in his hand as he inquires into influences at boundaries and crossroads and earns respect as *nganga*. Or else he has it to help him fight quarrels, since *Mpiya* is really useful in a battle: when a man is dodging bullets and jumping about he'll activate prayer after prayer. When they expect to go to war they consult *Mpiya* to know who will be wounded and who will go unscathed, who will die and who will be spared.

When they work to put a *nkuyu* in a statue or muzidi they also use *Mpiya*; when they are fixing the *nkuyu* and trembling ecstatically they hold *Mpiya* in their hand. It has a lot of force. Others put *nkuyu* in *Mpiya*, since a *Mpiya* that has no *nkuyu* in it is nothing and cannot be used to divine nor to fix a *nkuyu*. Everything for divination for the sick and thieves and witches and those who have *kundu* is in *Mpiya*. They use *Mpiya* to divine; without one they would not have the ability to call out what has to be identified, because undoubtedly the faculty resides in the *Mpiya*. Not the *Mpiya* itself, of course, but the *nkuyu* in it tells them all the ways of divination.

Bwe yivangulu? Yivangulu mu lekwa biabingi. Bu bavanganga mpiya, buna babonganga minhondo mia mankondo miayuma. Mboki mimbembe miabansusu miamingi, taba dianlele, luzimbu, lumfila nsusu, ntoto a ndiamu. Biabionsono bibana hidikila mpiya bu bimeni lunga, buna bahidikanga. Bonso bwabu bahidikanga yo. Bu babongele minhondo, babukunu mio mu bibuku biadetila. Mu biau ba kwe sumikanga mimbembe. Bu bameni mio dumika, babongele pahudi dianlele babembi mu siamisa ye sweka minhondo. Ku taku diamambobo batulanga ntoto andiamu yadiama muntu wamvwama beni. Wonso waba bibulu biabingi ye zinsusu ye minnanga mia bantu miamingi ye nkwa kimpumbulu ye kibakala mu nwanisa makanda mankaka, buna i wampila yoyo bateka lokanga, ta mfunia ku mpimpa, mpila mosi ku buloka. I wampila yoyo badianga ku kinganga kiau. Ka balendi dia zekele kia muntu vo mputu a nzambi ko, kansi wonso wayenda makumbu mu kimvama, kikesa, kimpumbulu, kiambabu, kibakala ye ndwenga, i yandi wowo badianga ye ntoto andiamu andi basadilanga mu tula ku taku dia mpiya.

Va zimunina bakotisanga mpeve ya wampila yoyo mu mpiya, kidi kadumisa nganga mu ndwenga zafiedila ye lakila nkuyu miankaka. Batulanga luzimbu lwampemba nkadulu bonso kodia dibanga nkodia nkwatera mu mfinda. Mboki batulanga mpila fitadi fiavindumuka fiafike fiena nkumbu lumfila nsusu. Batobanga mpe paku dianlele ko taku dia mpiya mu sweka ye keba biobio biena ku taku. Taku diampiya dimonikanga diavindumuka mu diambu dia biobio bibamana komanga ku taku dia mpiya. Yoyo i mpangulu a mpiya. Nga nsadulu ayau, i mu fiela ye loka ye kumina nkuyu miankaka. Mboki sadila yo mu minzingu nwana ye kwe yo nati mu nkole a nkutu mu keba mfumu andi, mbatu mu diambu dia sa ntoko kaka.

Minkuyu bwe mikotilanga mu kiteki, mu mizidi, mu mpiya? Minkuyu kamikotanga miau kibeni ko vo milembolo kumwa, kansi miakidi kumwa kwa zinganga mboki mikotanga. Nga kamikotanga mu lwau luzolo ko, tombila ko bazolanga kota. Luzolo lwakota lutukanga kwa minkuyu kibeni, kansi nkotosolo au yena mu banganga.

They are made out of many different things. When people make Mpiya they take dry banana-leaf fibers, then a lot of long rooster feathers, a rag, a spiral shell, *lumfila nsusu*, and grave-dirt. When everything to prepare Mpiya has been collected, they make it as follows. They take the fibers, break them into pieces of similar size and fix them to the feathers. When they have tamped them together they take a strip of cloth and bind them, to strengthen and hide the fibers. At the butt of the baton they put earth from the grave of a very rich man, such as one who owned many animals and chickens and slaves and showed plenty of vigor and aggressiveness in fighting other clans, that's the sort they prefer to trap. Someone who uttered maledictions at night, that is, by witchcraft, that's who they eat by their magic. They cannot capture a nonentity or an indigent person, only someone renowned for wealth, belligerence, truculence, deceit, aggressiveness and intelligence, that's the kind whose grave-dirt they take to put in the butt of Mpiya.

Lastly, they cause a spirit of that kind to enter the Mpiya so that the nganga may be famous for his clever divination and tracking down other *nkuyu*. They put a white shell such as that of the *nkodya* snail in the forest; also they put a little round stone called "rooster sender" and attach the piece of rag to the butt of the Mpiya to conceal and protect the things in it. The butt appears round because of what has been fixed in it. That's how it is made. It is used to divine and to curse and pursue other *minkuyu*; also to fight with, or to carry on the strap of a satchel to protect its owner or just to look good.

How do *minkuyu* enter into a statue, *muzidi* or *Mpiya*? The *minkuyu* do not go in by themselves if they are not fixed; they have to be fixed by nganga, then they enter. On the other hand they do not enter just because of the nganga's desire; the idea comes from the *minkuyu* themselves, although the banganga make it happen.

Bu bakotisanga nkuyu mu kiteki vo mu mutoto vo mu nkangala vo mu mizidi evo mu mpiya, buna nkotosolo ya mpila mosi. Balandanga nganga mintadi. Nganga bu kalweki ku vata, buna bakento ye babakala bayonzamanga ha mbazi a nzo ya wakotisisa nkuyu. Bakento ye babakala bazakalanga mu ndambu zole mu minlonga. Nlonga wa bakento ku banda ye wabakala ku ntandu ye nkwa ndungu sika wubelanga ku nsoso anlonga. Buna vo nganga zeyi ti nkuyu wowo mutoto wazola vo nkangala, buna ulombanga bindia bikana toludila vo hongila nkuyu. Mboki yandi kibeni nganga umana kihidikilanga bonzo ku nenga dikalembanga mu mahambu manzila mamonsoho mu diambu dia honga nkuyu.

Makaya mabasanga ha bonzo i mama: lemba-lemba, mutioni, boyo diabenge evo hembe diambwaki dihonda kiela, mumpoko ye lubata-bata. Bu kameni bunda biobio biabionsono hakimosi, buna dieka bonzo. Bonzo bu dimeni hilama, buna mboki si katambula biandia kwa nkumisi a nkuyu. Madia i mama: mbumbi mivambwa, mbumbi yamankondo, mututu mu mungwa, funda dientete zalambu ye kwanga kiabukuzunu mu bimbukumbuku ye mbizi mu yonso- yonso mpila mbizi yibabakisini. Bio biabionsono batambunga(?) mu nkangala vo mu mutoto mu kondudila nkuyu.

Nganga uteka semanga madia momo mamonsoho bakotisanga mo mu mutoto, wau kibeni wasemwa mu bilongo biampongolo. Mbiki yabika paku dia nelele ha ntandu. Nganga uyimbilanganga nkunga kankunga mia mpodi. Buna nsiki a ndungu wutatamanga mu sika. Nganga ye mintambudi miankunga ka bakento ko kansi babakala kaka, kadi diasisana bakulu, bakento kabalendi yimbila ha mbazi ankotosolo ankuyu ko, kansi yi tala kaka.

The process is the same whether *nkuyu* is being put in *muzidi*, in a statue, a handbasket, a *mutoto* basket or *Mpiya*. They seek a nganga of *Ntadi*; when he has arrived in the village men and women gather outside the house of the person who is having the *nkuyu* put in. Women and men sit on opposite sides, the women below [West?] and the men above [East?], and the *ndungu* drummer in between. When the nganga knows what kind of basket the *nkuyu* in question wants, he asks for the food that will tempt the *nkuyu*. Then he himself prepares, off to one side, a potion with which he asperges all the intersections in order to catch the *nkuyu*.

These are the plants used in the potion: *lemba-lemba*, *mutioni*, a red *boyo* or *hembe dihonda kiela*, *mumpoko* and *lubata-bata*. All these combined together makes the potion. When the potion is done, he receives the foods from the sponsor of the affair. The foods are: pots of [?], a dish of plantain, salt, a packet of cooked squash seeds, cassava pudding cut in slices, and whatever meat is available. They put all these in a basket in order to tempt the *nkuyu*.

The nganga first sacralizes all the food he puts in the basket, which itself is sacralized with improving medicines. He puts a piece of cloth over the top and sings many *Mpodi* songs while the drummer continues to play. The nganga and the chorus are all male, since the ancestors left it that women may not sing, but only watch, when a *nkuyu* is being put in.

Mutadi

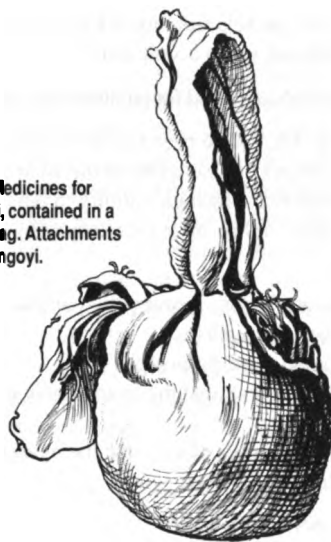
Nkisi Mutadi (from *tala*, "to spy out") is a nkisi of divination. The *nkutu* shoulder-bag, #19.1183, from Kingoyi, has lost the many attachments it once had, including monkey skins, bells and rattles, that rendered its appearance dramatic (LKIII:81). It should have in it a *salu*-bag, the container of the medicines.

In his chapter on "Some important minkisi" (LKIII:81), Laman begins with Mutadi, which he discusses in some detail as an example of how minkisi are composed and used. To some extent he relies here on Kionga of Kingoyi, who gives two versions of what he knows (cahier 95, 96), but most of the text is based on his own KiKongo account (LKM:962-67) of four examples of Mutadi that he has examined and with whose use he seems to be familiar.

"All bilongo have their several properties and thus help to form the nkisi's sphere of activity. When a nganga wants to use his nkisi he scrapes off (*teba*) a small portion of the medicines he needs. Over each medicine a formula is read, and each medicine must follow the order determined from the beginning" (LKIII:84).

In his inventory of the ingredients or medicines of a Mutadi in his collection, labeled "No. 2," Laman identifies 40 kinds of medicinal item; another Mutadi yields 11 more not found in the first. Each item is listed with its place and

19.1.1183. Medicines for nkisi Mutadi, contained in a shoulder-bag. Attachments missing. Kingoyi.



1919.1.517. Medicines for nkisi Mutadi, contained in a shoulder bag; an animal skin attached to the bag, also three small medicine bundles attached to the outside; figurine of a woman holding her breasts, medicinal pack on the head; about 38 x 15 cm. Nganda.

function in the assemblage, whether to be included in or attached to the bag (*teba vo tuula, komba va salu mu keba*), to paint on the nganga (*mu kila*) or to fortify him, for the composition or invocation (*ku vanda*) of the nkisi, or for divination (*mu fyela*). Additional commentary is recorded on the next page, under the heading *Ntwalumunu a bilongo*, "composition of the medicines." A summary of the information indicates that the items fall into the following categories, with significance as indicated:

To confer abilities on the nganga:

Two small packets of the same medicines as are found in the bag, together with chalk (male) and red clay (female).

Another small packet with albino hair and the little blue bead (*luzimbu*) that confers powers of divination on the nganga.

A small, spiriform shell (*luzimbu*), "costing a chicken or two, that the nganga swallows, or perhaps he swallows the male one and keeps the female one," Kyonga explains. Laman's marginal note to the manuscript says: "During the composition the apprentice swallows *luzimbu*, a small shell, together with medicines and palmwine. The shell is as it were alive in his body, moving about restlessly. It reveals obscure matters to him; when it vibrates the nganga shudders, or his shoulders shake."

Three consecrated packets from nkisi Kula, to protect the nganga of Mutadi in his occult wars.

A little packet of red camwood for painting lines on nganga.

A partridge egg. "Eh, I have been hatched (*teeta*) in magic (*ku bunganga*). " (Also refers to the swiftness of the partridge, thus to the nganga's ability to pursue witches.) The same significance is conveyed by *nteete*, squash seed.

- palmnut, to awaken his powers: "by palmnut I fight."
- chalk to mark the nganga.
- red clay for the same purpose.
- spiral shell (kizinga), that the nganga may live long (zinga).
- scarab beetle, kimfwa nkabu, that the nganga may be vigorous (fwa nkabu).

Medicines proper to the bag:

- Mbidi fruit: "They have praised (*bila*) me in magic."
- peanut (*nguba nsamba*), evokes palmwine (*malavu nsamba*).
- stones (*matadi*), "make yourself visible that I may look (*tala*) all around."
- gun flint, exposed outside the bag to protect it.
- the foot of a *nsengi* or *ngondo* monkey.
- an old fashioned clay pipe.
- a *lubwela* bead, "put in as an ornament."
- charcoal from a forge.
- a leaf containing a feather of the *kinswele* parrot.
- beak of the same parrot.
- head of the *kintombo* bird, whose cry foretells the future.
- tooth of the cane-cutter rat.
- snail shell, *kodya*.
- another shell, *lubambala*.

Medicines used in invocation (*ku vanda*):

- *ndingi* (stagnant water): "they have sought (*dinga*) me in magic."
- *mizaazu*, cocoon of the praying mantis, "they have given me luck (*zaazuka*)."
- Calabar beans, also used for divination.
- luyala, "they have initiated (*yala*) me;" to bless the nkisi, also for invocation and divination.

- *lusaku-saku*, "they have blessed me (*sakumuna*) in magic."
- bat claw, *nsimba*: "seize (*simba*) [the witch], do not let go."
- 3 pieces of *lwangu-lwangu*, [a plant with a strong smell used to purify the nkisi - LKD], for the composition, to burn and spread on the nkisi so that it may smell good. Also says, "they have excited (*yangula*) [the nkisi]."
- bagworm cocoon.

Items specifically for divination:

- a figurine (*teki kya mfyedila*), carved in nkulu husu wood; it is "perhaps called Nkusu." [Nkusu means 'parrot,' which 'speaks' to reveal hidden things.]
- pangolin scale, which is made to run up and down a string as a divination device.
- the white tail of a black dog.

Laman lists ten devices that nganga Mutadi may use while divining (LKIII:82; LKM:966). One of them, Kisengo, though described as a nkisi, is a form of hot iron ordeal, similar to Bau (q.v.). This part of the description (LKIII:84-85) is based on Lunungu. Kionga's account indicates a technique of another sort: the diviner has his assistants inquire in advance what the client's ailment is and whom he suspects of bewitching him; they then advise the nganga during the séance by sounding their rattles with especial vigor when his suggestions are getting close.

In cahier 96, Kyonga tells us that Mutadi is also called Lwamba Iwa Mpumbu; its nganga must be a man, who takes the name Mahungu ma Mpabu. He explains that Mutadi is not used to obtain wealth, but to catch thieves, to find out if a woman has been sleeping with someone to whom she is not married and, in the case of illness, to discover whether a nkisi, a witch or a ghost is responsible. Mutadi does not have the power to heal, but if anyone should have trouble with his vision he sends for nganga Mutadi to have white lines painted at the corners of his eyes. The nkisi is not profaned until all its adepts have died, but the nganga is required not to steal or commit adultery, nor may he be tied with cords. A peculiarity of the nkisi is that the nganga may not pass it on to his son, who must go on his own to a nganga if he wishes to compose Mutadi.

Klonga, cahier 95; Kingoyi

Mutadi ulenda vandwa kwa wonso wonso muntu, kanivo ntaudi vo kihunda. Kansi wonso wena nzailu mu toma yimbila ye wonso ukabanga. Kansi vwilu mu kanda dya mfyedila. Wonso una wo vanda ulenda tumisa banganga. Mboki balenda yimbila minkunga mu fuku bonso bwabu: Songo-songo dya nganga Muzinga buna namuleka, mbazi mbo twazonza musamu, mwe Mbamba ngoma ami yazonza nsamu. Mboki baala ba nganga balenda baka bidia ye malavu. Mboki bantu bu bameni dia ye nwa balenda yimbila ye sika ngoma. Mu fuku bankaka balendi kwiza mu sa bonso nkungi. Mboki mu nsuuka balenda tomba nkutu ya bifubu ya moona ye lubongo lwa moona mpe. Mboki teki kimosi kitulwanga va kimosi ye bilongo va salu. Nkumbu za bilongo zazi: musoni, mpemba ye byankaka.

Mboki mwena bulu, i nsengi Mutadi. Mboki bu bameni kubika byobyo, buna balenda kwenda ku nseke mu manisa nkisi vanda. Buna bala ba nganga balenda kubika dyaka bidia, kidi bena kwenda diila ku londe. Mboki kuuna balenda nata salu ye nkutu bya nsamuna ye mikila mya bulu byankaka, bonso mya ngonde, nsegi, mbala, nsinzi ye bulu byankaka. Banatanga lubamba, kidi vo bana vwika nkila myomyo ye tuula salu mu nkutu kuna nsekenda. Kuna babakanga nsengi. Ku nse kenda banatanga ngoma ye yimbila minkunga. Bu batuukanga ku nse kenda, buna bavutukanga ku bwala mu tambula mfutu.

Mutadi ka uvandwanga ny dyambu dya beela vo mu dyambu dyankaka, kansi nganga zilenda wo tiisa kwa muntu vo wena ndwenga vo mu kabila bantu. Mutadi utulwanga vonso vonso.

Mutadi uvwilu mu kanda dya mfyedila. Sinsi i nsengi Mutadi. Kansi usadulwanga mu tomba nkisi ulenda beedisa muntu. Kani nki a nkisi weti mwesa muntu mpasi. Kani kindoki ye zinkondi, Mutinu, Kinkita ye bankaka. Buna nganga bu keti landwa, bantu balenda toma zaya bila. Balenda teka kwenda kwa mbevo ye kunyuvula, vo walotwa ndozi, vo wamona muntu ku nsi a tulu mu zaya nadede, kidi nganga bu kana badika mu ta manga kazaya. Nga vo balembole teka zaya bonso bwenina bila, nganga kalendi zaya ko. Buna nganga ulenda badika nkunga wa ntete bonso bwabu: Songo, songo dya nganga Muzinga, ngoma ami, maama ngoma ami yazonza musamu, buna namuleeka mbazi, mbo twazonza musamu. E maa dyeka muna. E-e zoono dya mazandu, e e, e bubu dya mazandu ee. Zoono dya mazandu, bubu dya mazandu.

Mutadi may be composed by anyone, young or old, anyone who knows how to sing well and is generous. It belongs in the divination class. Whoever wants to compose it may send for the nganga. Then at night they sing a song, like this: "Good fortune of nganga Muzinga, sleep on it, tomorrow we will argue the matter, Mwe Mbamba my drum will argue the matter." The junior banganga accept food and drink. After eating and drinking they sing and play the *ngoma* drum. At night others come as to a party. In the morning they look for a new shoulder-bag of pineapple fiber, and also a new raffia mat. Then a figurine is put with the medicines in the medicine bag. These are the names of the medicines: red clay, white clay, and others.

Then there is an animal, the *nsengi* monkey, "Mutadi." Having collected these things they go to the savanna to finish the composition. The banganga may prepare more food to eat at the place. Thither they carry the medicine bag, the empty shoulder bag and the tails of certain animals, such as the *ngondo* monkey, *nsengi*, genet, wildcat and others. The take *lubamba* cane to attach the tails and put the medicines in the bag out there in the grass, where they catch the nsengi. There they take the drum and sing songs. They return to the village to receive their fee.

Mutadi is not composed on account of sickness or the like, but the priest may confer it on anyone who knows how to be generous. It is kept anywhere.

Mutadi belongs in the divination class. Its source is the Mutadi monkey. It is used to discover what nkisi is afflicting a person, which one is giving him trouble, whether witchcraft, Nkondi, Mutinu, Kinkita or others. The nganga is sought out so that people may know the reason. They may first go to the sick man and ask him if he has dreamed, if he has seen anyone in his sleep, so that the nganga may know when he begins to divine. If they do not know where the problem is, the nganga cannot know. The nganga begins his first song as follows: "Good fortune of Nganga Mazinga, my drum, my drum argue that matter, sleep on it, tomorrow we argue the matter..."

Buna ubadikanga mu tona nitu a muntu tanga. Kani weti beela ntu vo mooyo vo nsingu vo mbanzi vo vonso vonso. Buna kwa bau beti mutala ye bena mikwanga mu mooko mu sika. Vo bawilu vo nganga toodidi vuuma kyeti beela muntu, buna bau bena ye mikwanga batoma tembisa.

Then he begins to enumerate the parts of the patient's body [to find whether] it is his head, belly, neck, chest or whatever that ails him. Others watch, and sound the rattles they have in hand. If the nganga suggests that the patient is suffering in his belly, they rattle up a storm.

NGWIMA

After the French and Belgian authorities forbade the use of the *nkasa* poison ordeal in their newly conquered territories, the inhabitants of the upper Ludima valley tried for a while to substitute nkisi Ngwima. Babutidi of Kinkenge describes the nkisi, but apparently he has merely heard about it and his account is somewhat confused; Laman's efforts (LKIII: 169-70) to straighten it out do not help much.

The essential elements are 1) The statue, which (as illustrated, LKIII: fig.39) is appropriately provided with aggressive teeth. The gesture, holding the breast, probably indicates rejection, expulsion from the lineage. The figure shown has a resin pack on its head, but neither pack nor mirror on its chest. 2) The poisonous mixture, *ngwima*, which pierced the sac of witchcraft substance (*kundu*, pl. *ma*-) in the suspect's body. 3) The potion (*mbonzi*), also kept in a bottle, which had "healing" power. The personnel included the expert or principal nganga; those who, on a given occasion, wish to activate or acquire (*vanda*) the charm; those, possibly the same persons, who act as assistants when Ngwima is administered to the whole village; the village itself and its chief.

An eye-witness report of the administration of the new ordeal, with economic details, is provided by Petolo Ngoma, writing from the CMA station of Mboka in French Congo (*Minsamu Miyenge*, 1912, No.4). There are other contemporary examples of the kind of parody of Christian doctrine contained in the nganga's opening words. Ngoma:

"I have seen people drinking their nkisi. The name of the nkisi is Ngwima. The nganga said to the people, 'Whoever wants to live should drink this and he will never taste death but live for ever.' Many believed and came, but he said, 'Wait two days and come on the third.' On the second day he prepared his nkisi with *nkasa* and gunpowder and



19.1.0722.
Ngwima, nkisi for
poison ordeal. An-
thropomorphic,
female figurine.
Mayombe.

other still worse things, and put it in a mug, mixing in water with it. On the third day all who came drank. They paid the nganga cloths worth 150 francs, and he appropriated other things that they discarded. If anyone had stolen a goat, a pig or anything else he brought it and tied it up at the entrance to the village; the nganga took these things lest his nkisi be angry and kill someone. When I saw this I asked people why they were wasting their money; they would inevitably die anyway and their souls go to destruction."

Ngwima resembles both the well known nkasa poison ordeal, as Babutidi remarks, and the somewhat Christianised Munkukusa movement in the same Manianga area some 40 years later. The legendary founder of Munkukusa, Maledimba, is said to have instituted the practice of swallowing a mixture of human excrement, which (according to LKD) was also an ingredient of Ngwima. In one de-

tailed account of Munkukusa, the dirt used was grave earth, with which to "wash away" (*kukusa*) witchcraft. This earth was kept in the church all night while the people danced and shots were fired. In the morning, the earth was mixed with symbols of ill-gotten gains and foods described as makundu, which are trampled before being cast away in the forest (Janzen and MacGaffey 1974, nos.10, 26). Part of the Munkukusa test involved hammering (*koma*) a nail into a wooden cross while swearing an oath, as in the Nkondi procedure (q.v.); this element is not present in Ngwima, but it was the source of the name, "Croix Koma," given to the movement against witchcraft founded by Z. Lassy in French Congo. Munkukusa swept Manianga between 1950 and 1952; Croix Koma began slightly later, in Pointe Noire, but there was no direct connection between them.

Babutidi, cahier 15; Kinkenge

Mpandulu a Ngwima ku Mayombe. Wonso zolele vanda Ngwima, si kateka vadisa kiteki, mboki si kanata kio kwa nganga. Nganga bu katambudi kio, i ntumbu kio ledingisa nkuki va ntulu ye ku ntu a kiau, mboki babika lumweno va ntulu a kiau mpe. Mboki babonganga zimfula zazingi ye nikanga, tutanga masoko mandudi ye babulanga mpe flankasa mu nsweki mboki tuta ye sula mu longa mwena zimfula ye nlangu, batotanga mpe mataba ma minlele maloswa mu madiala mayika mvindu nakokuba ye sulanga mo mu longa diodio batutanga mpe makaya mandudi ye vwanzanga mu mu biau. Buna se yeka nkumbu "ngwima."

Landila diodio, nganga una katwa yo semuna [badika nwa] mu bimba kope kimosi mu diambu diasalu kiandi kiambakulu a mbongo. mboki ndieu vendi yo mpe una yo semuna mu bimba kope kimosi mpe. Kansi momo ka mavangwanga va yuti vo va kati a bwala ko, mpasi vo mavanga ye nsobo zozo zisilu mu Ngwima ko, kansi bakwendanga ku mfinda yatatuka kidi momo mamonso no mavangama munsweki.

Bu bameri yo sula, basekulanga yo mu ngalu mu kebila yo. Mboki ngudi a nganga si kakamba kwa bavendi minlongo ye nsadulu zi yisadulwanga ye makaya.

Mboki si batuta makaya ye kanga mo zimbonzi (mabonzo) ye lundanga zo. Mboki basekulanga yo mu ngalu ye lundanga yo.

Preparation of Ngwima in Mayombe. Whoever wishes to activate Ngwima must first have a wooden figure made and take it to a nganga. When nganga gets it, he fixes resin to its chest and head, then sticks a mirror on the chest. Then they take a lot of gunpowder and grind it, pounding bitter *soko* tubers and also, secretly, a little *nkasa* poison. These they crush and pound in a dish with gunpowder and water. They also collect rags that have been thrown in the garbage and have become brown and dirty, and grind them up in the dish with bitter leaves all mashed together. This then is called *ngwima*.

After that the nganga is obliged to begin by tasting one cup on account of his business, making money. Then whoever composed the nkisi also begins by tasting one cup. But none of this is done publicly in the middle of the village, so that that what goes into making Ngwima [should be known]; they go to a distant forest so that all may be done in secret.

When they have finished preparing it, they pour it into a large flagon to keep it. Then the nganga in charge tells the apprentices the rules to observe and what the herbs are.

They pound leaves and make potions of them, putting them aside. They pour them into a bottle to keep.

Vo mwana nganga sumukini nlongo mu nkisi wowo, buna ngudi a nganga si kiza ye vundula mbonzi zozo mu nlangu ye kama zo, mboki si kanwika zo ndiona sumukini ye vo kedi ye yela kwavumu vimba, buna si kalenda niaka. Kansi vo muntu wowo si kafwa, buna si bakamba ye zaya vo yakedi ndoki, kadi mu diambu dia ngwima yoyo yi kabimba yibakudi mu kundu diandi ikuma kafwididi.

Batutanga bisotia bihulumbiti ye subanga masuba ye soba momo ye tutanga niondo ye soka mu ngwima yoyo.

Ngwima yifwanane ye nkasa kadi nkasa yatutwa ye lekwa biansweki biatulwa momo, kansi nkumbu yavilulwa vo ngwima mu diambu diamindele bakanikina nkasa dia.

Vo muntu bakamene yela, evo vata dikalanga mfwidi-mfwidi, buna mfumu a bwala si kalanda nganga Ngwima. Nganga yoyo bu kalweki, buna i ntumbu tekuna ngwima ye vana kope kimosi-kimosi kws muntu-muntu, nkento-nkento mu vata diamvimba. Bimbana mbana mpe bina yo nwa kansi vo fiantulu buna vila (vinza) yo va nima.

Bu bameni yo nwa bobo, buna ka balendi leka fuku diodio diamvimba ko, kansi sikanga ndungu ye nkonko (mbuma) ye kinanga kaka fuku diamvimba. Bu beti kina buna beti veta mpe zimfula fuku diamvimba.

Ngwima ka yidilanga bonso budilanga nkasa ko vo ndoki lenda tumbu bwa ye fwa va kinsi-kinsi kansi babonsono badidi yo, balenda kwau mona mayangi ye kina fuku diamvimba ye toma kielo, kansi lumbu tatu vo ia bu biviokele, buna bankaka balenda fwa ye bankaka baka yela kwavumu mfutani. Ndieu beki yela mu diambu diandilu a ngwima mpe lenda bukwa mu nwika mbonzi zankisi, kansi vo si kafwa, buna kundu dikedi yandi.

Bavanda ngwima batoma kiketanga ntangu zazonsono. Vo si bawa nkumbula na tu-u, buna babonsono i ntumbu vova va mosi, "Wongama."

Mwankaka, nganga ngwima unatanga nkawa andi va koko kwandi. Vo si banlanda kinganga mu fimba ndoki, buna lenda tesisa (fimbila) mu nkawa wowo. Mu nkonkolo, nganga weti duda nkaw'andi va nsi na du-du-du. Bu beti tesa, buna beti sika ngoma ye yimbila, mboki nganga weti sika nkwangwa angwima. Nkwanga wowo wazitukwa mu mbamba ye tulwa makomo- komo mu nkati. Usimbanga nti ku lumoso ye sikanga nkwangwa ku lubakala nate nsukulu [ambukulu].

If a junior nganga should break one of the rules of this nkisi, then the principal nganga comes, soaks the leaves for the potion in water, squeezes them and gives the rule-breaker some to drink. If he has a swollen belly, he may recover. But if he dies, they will say and know that he was a witch, that the Ngwima found out his *kundu* and so he died.

They pound sotya and [other] frogs, and add urine, and pound *nyondo* [*diiza*] cactus to put in the Ngwima.

Ngwima is like *nkasa* because *nkasa* is pounded and secret things are put in it, but the name was changed to Ngwima because the Europeans forbade eating *Nkasa*.

If someone is ill, or if deaths are frequent in the village, the village head will send for the nganga of Ngwima. When he arrives, he pours *ngwima* and gives a cup of it to each person in the whole village, men and women. Little children also drink, except that for a nursing they just rub some on its chest.

When they have drunk, they may not go to sleep all night. *Ndungu* and *nkonko* drums play, and there is dancing all night long. While they dance they also fire shots all night.

Ngwima is not taken like *nkasa*, so that a witch may fall down suddenly and die on the spot. All those who drink it may be perfectly happy and dance all night, without trouble, but after 3 or 4 days some may die and others fall ill with bloated stomachs. One who falls ill from taking *ngwima* can be treated with the potion of the nkisi, but if he dies, then he had *kundu*.

The assistants for the Ngwima are always alert. If they hear a loud "*na tu-u*!" they all exclaim together, "Hold still!"

Also, nganga Ngwima carries a baton in his hand. If they ask him to detect a witch, he may seek him out by means of this baton. During the procedure nganga thumps his baton on the ground, *du-du-du*. While he is seeking [the witch] they play the drum and sing, and nganga sounds the Ngwima rattle, which is wrapped in rattan and has black ginger seeds in it. He holds the stick in his left hand and shakes the rattle with his right until the end [of the treatment].

HEALING

There were as many *minkisi* as there are diseases, or rather, as there were clusters of symptoms regarded as ailments (*mayela*) in Kongo nosology. Many of these symptoms, such as swellings, could be produced by a number of different diseases. Other problems, such as anticipated difficulty in childbirth, were treated by some of the same *minkisi* that dealt with tumors. Swellings and blockages in general were regarded as signs of the benign or malevolent indwelling of a spirit of some kind, which both caused the problem and cured it. As Babutidi writes, "The reason why a man remains alive is that he strictly follows the rules of the spirits (*bakisi*); for example, when he has been treated by one and told not to eat such-and-such. If he breaks no rules he will live into old age" (cahier 6). The BaKongo believed that to be cured was to be initiated into a sort of social relationship with the *nkisi*, joining an association of past and future sufferers from the disease.

Just as groups of symptoms overlapped and merged, so the treatments and the composition of the appropriate *minkisi* tended to resemble and borrow from one another. There was no *nkisi* without its *nganga*, and the rules for each *nkisi* specified who could acquire it and become *nganga*. Some were voluntary, though perhaps restricted to men only and perhaps to the wealthy; others were more or less obligatory for those afflicted with certain ailments for which initiation was the cure. To compose (*vanda*, *koma*) a *nkisi* was simultaneously to initiate its new operator; the procedure was usually similar to or even identical with the invocation of the *nkisi* to heal someone else.

The composition of a *nkisi* might take weeks, during which the apprentice *nganga* was secluded, supposedly sojourning in the land of the dead, from whom he learned the techniques and rules of his craft. Other *minkisi* required only hours to compose. Commonly a three-sided shelter (*lusaba*) was constructed (LKIII:72). According to Ndibu (cahier 347), describing the composition of Musansi a Biteki, a *nkisi* animated by a water spirit, the initiating *nganga* would begin with an invocation imitating the call of

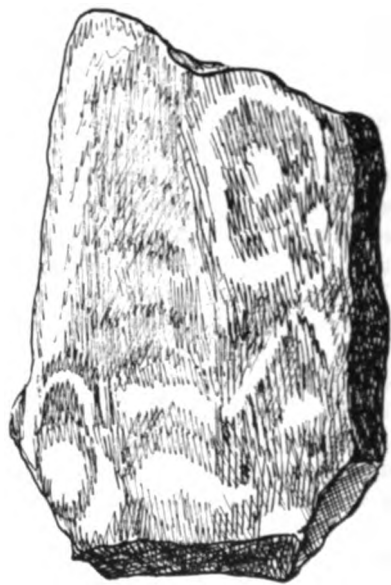


1954.1.2583. Stone for the preparation of medicines, painted with a red spot surrounded with a ring of white.

certain frogs: *Vongonono, vongonono!* He then sang a song describing his own actions in applying white and red paint to his face to "become nganga of Musansi." He then took an ironwood (*lubota*) stick, the growing shoot of a palm, palm leaves, elephant grass and entwined them to make the shelter, to which the leaves of savanna plants were tied. He then took a small, spiral shell (*luzimbu*) which he placed in a small hole scraped in the ground under the shelter, placing over it a ring woven of eleusine (*lusonya*). He poured water and palmwine on the spot. Taking up a flat stone on which red *ndimba* clay was ground, he joined with his apprentices in laying hands on it while reciting a formulaic *rigamarole*. After laying it on the hole, he marked it with red and white and then began preparing the medicines upon it. Two such stones (54.2582, 54.2583) are in the Museum's collection.

The ingredients are specified in more or less detail in the accounts of the *minkisi*. Many of them are common to so many *minkisi* that a supply of them was kept on hand in a *nkisi a babonsono*, "everybody's *nkisi*" (v. infra), which had no function of its own. Besides the *nkisi* proper, the entire assemblage might include more specialized artefacts for use in healing or divination, "bells [*dibu* or *kunda*], whisks [*mpiya*], rattles [*mwakasa*, *mawolo*], whistles [*konki*, *mwemvo*], gongs [*ngongi*] and other implements used to invoke the *nkisi*" (LKIII:74). The miniature slit-drum (*nkonzi*), the long drum (*ndungu*) and, less often, the dance drum (*ngoma*) might be prescribed. The *nganga's* costume, itself partly composed of amulets, included stripes of red and white clay paint, feathers, skins, bracelets, rattles and other accoutrements intended to create a dramatic effect enhanced by the movements of dance to the accompaniment of songs describing the action and intent of the ritual. Food and drink for the principals and other participants added to the excitements and satisfactions of the occasion. The presence and power of the spirit might be announced by ecstatic possession (*tuntuka*) manifested by persons with the gift for it (*mayembo*).

Initiation and cure required the payment of prescribed fees, often a considerable source of income for the owner of an important *nkisi*. Afterwards, the principals continued their association with the *nkisi* by observing its rules concerning food and behavior. These rules, like the ingredients of the *nkisi*, bore a metaphorical relationship to its function. The *nkisi* itself was kept in a prescribed place in the owner's house or a special house of its own.



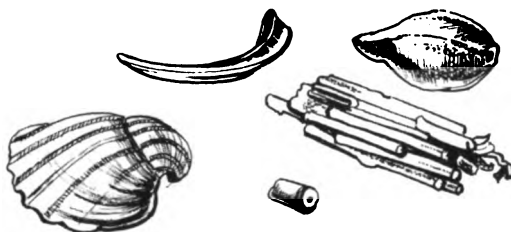
1954.1.2582. Stone for the preparation of medicines, marked with irregular red and white lines.

Nkisi a babonso

Nkisi a Babonso, "everybody's nkisi," was a sort of magical convenience store set up in many villages to provide basic ingredients for anyone who needed them. It is thus not really a nkisi at all. The basket #19.1130, from Lolo, contains fragments of quartz, sea-shells, red and blue glass trade beads, rodent's teeth, kaolin, a crab claw, a cocoon of the licitor bagworm, a threaded machine bolt and a little bundle tied up in cloth, among other things. Originally no doubt it contained more.



19. "19.1.1096. Bag of medicines for Nkisi a babonso, 10.5 cm. high. Kingoyl.



19.1.1130. Basket of medicines for Nkisi a babonso, diameter 17.5 cm. Lolo.

Bakulu

The museum's example (19.1105) is from Kinkonzi, which is in the upper Ludima valley not far from Kinkenge. Babutidi, writing from Kinkenge (cahier 15, LKM:700), is very brief. Bakulu, he says, is put in a *lukatu* packet in which there are also white clay, red clay, Calabar bean and a *sefi* sea-shell. To heal someone who has the disease *lubanzi* (a pain in the ribs), medicines are prepared for the patient to drink and to rub on his chest. A *kunda* bell is sounded during the healing.

The only other text (LKM:701) for Bakulu, not much longer, is from Ntungu of Kasi (Mukimbungu). It does not tell us what the nkisi cures, but lists the taboos to be observed by the nganga, who is called Semo. This nkisi causes possession (*tuntuka*, *mayembo*), and afflicts with sleeplessness. Bakulu is similar to Kimpanzu (q.v.).



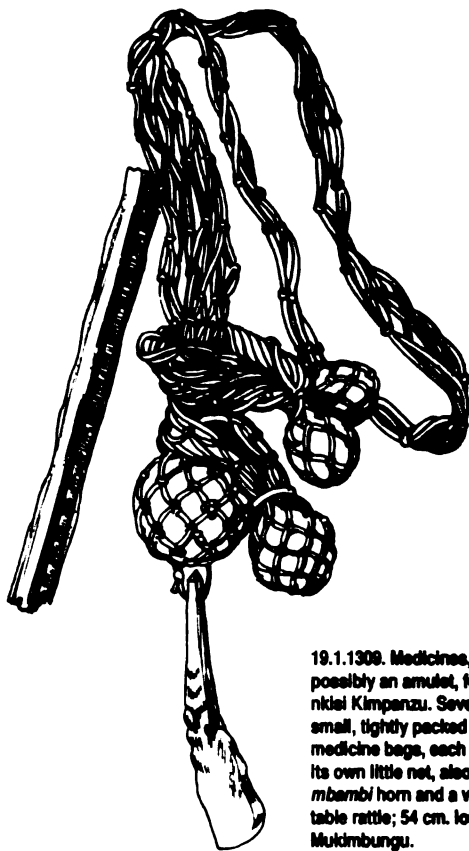
19.1.1105. Bag of medicines for nkisi Bakulu; attached *naibe* antelope horn with medicine pack. Kinkonzi. 43 cm. long.

Kimpanzu

Kimpanzu (Mpanzu) cures *lubanzi*, a disease peculiar to Kongo nosology; it is a pain in the ribs, often interpreted as a spiritual summons or warning. Laman's description (LKIII:151) is provided by Makundu (cahier 260). A number of details of interest have been omitted.

Makundu says that Kimpanzu is a small nkisi, but with a strong grip. The person wishing to compose it must first obtain the skin of a striped squirrel and then find a nganga who has already composed Kimpanzu. No description of the nkisi is given. The object 19.1309, which may be only an amulet of the nkisi, consists of several small, tightly packed medicine bags, each in a little net bag. To the largest bag a *mbambi* horn is attached, and there is a vegetable rattle (? the pod *mpanzi*). The medicines include the heads of poisonous snakes and three sharp shoots of *nsonya* grass, all presumably representative of pain. There is also a "rib" from the wall of a house, the house being an image of the human body. A small shelter is constructed with palm fronds and the bitter vine, *mambuzu*; in this is placed the stone on which nganga grinds white and red clays. When the medicines have been wrapped in the squirrel skin, a chicken is sacrificed over them.

The taboos to be observed by the new nganga suggest avoidance of "pains in the ribs." He may not break off a slat from the wall of a house, play a *diti* ("marimba") whose keys are made of palmrib, nor draw a knife across the slats of a house. Other taboos suggest that this is a water nkisi: on emerging from his house in the morning, he should mark himself with ash on his ears and brow and bathe in the dew by the side of the path before setting forth. He may not drink water that has stood overnight, and when he crosses a stream he must first offer a leaf.



19.1.1309. Medicines, possibly an amulet, for nkisi Kimpanzu. Several small, tightly packed medicine bags, each in its own little net, also a *mbambi* horn and a vegetable rattle; 54 cm. long. Mukimbungu.

Kipeka

Laman's description (LKIII: 157-58) of Kipeka from Kingoyi is taken from Nsemi (cahier 387); although Nsemi calls this nkisi Kinkita. It consists of a larger and a smaller bag contained in nets extended to form handles. The whole thing is smoky from being stored in the roof of a house, but the larger one, called Ngo Mfumu ("great chief"), is clearly colored red, and red clay is leaking from it. Nsemi tells what he thinks are the contents. A number of tiny bundles (*fiutu*) in European cloth, also colored red, are attached at various places. The nkisi carries a label, "No.153."

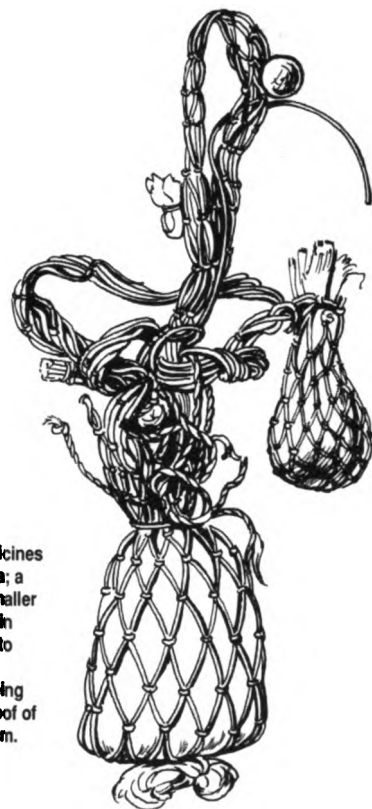
In the subsequent notebook (388), Nsemi gives another description of a nkisi he calls Kipeka. Apparently this is a group of minkisi with alternative names, and different names for different parts, as in the case of Mabyala (q.v.).

Laman describes Kinkita ("deception"), Kipeka ("who robs" – but *peka* "to wander," LKD) and Ngo Mfumu as a group of "minkisi with the same character." That character is violent, as the names and the red color suggest. Despite this character, it is clearly associated with water and serves to protect pregnancy (*kakila mabuta*). Elements of the water ritual seem to turn on the two meanings of yinama, "to crouch down" and "to be deceived;" one is obliged to bow to the nkisi to avoid being deceived by it. *Nkita* is a type of water spirit.

On his deathbed, Mananga ma Ndambu of Kingoyi, who was nganga of Kipeka, Mutadi, Lumoni and Luhemba, handed over his minkisi to two catechists from the mission. This Kipeka may have been his.

Nsemi, cahier 388; Kingoyi

Kinkita wena ngolo zazingi beni, kadi ubwidilanga mweko na mweko. Nkyanguku kabeki nkumbu ya Kinkita kadi ukwendanga ndambu na ndambu mu bwila bantu. Konso konso kweti beela muntu nate ye yandi una toluka kooko mpe. Nkyanguku mu dyodyo kena nkumbu yaduma ye ya zayakana, kadi ngolo zandi zena bonso tembo kinikusanga tiiti byabiingi.



19.1.1347. Medicines for nkisi Kipeka; a larger and a smaller bag contained in nets extended to form handles, smoky from being stored in the roof of a house. 35.5 cm. long. Kingoyi.

Kinkita is very strong, for it attacks everywhere. That's why it has the name Kinkita, since it goes from place to place striking people. Wherever it goes it strikes a person to the point of breaking his arm. It is therefore well known and much respected, for its force is like that of a storm thrashing the leaves.

Kinkita kasala na ukabwila ko. Wamuvanda ukubwididi, walemwa mu vanda, bwididi, nkyangu mu dyodyo kavewa nkumbu ya Kinkita, kadi kazaya kizika ko. Mu dyodyo mpe ka kanikinanga bantu bankaka vo lumbu dya bukonzo ye dya mpika ka bana yinama va mamba ko, nga ya bana baluta kangungu kwa yandi. Kayinama-yinama suku dya mpika na dya bukonzo mukulu kwandi umukengi, u katidi bwidila mu nzila bwididi, u katiidi ku nseke, bayenani bate wo, u kakeni ti ku mamba, batedi wo, u kasii ti va ziku dya tiya bongidi.

Mu ngolo zandi ye bunkita bwandi, nkyangu kena nkumbu Kipeeka ukwe peekingi konso konso ku kazolele ukwe yungingi ye kalendi mana ngonda zitatu mu lembwa bwila ko.

Nkya unu nganga bu kana kwiza buka muntu wabwilwa Kinkita, yandi una zokuna lemba-lemba ye komba vaala dya mulolo ye mufilu. Mboki nganga una kunda ngwe Kinkita, kidi kayambula u kabwididi, hangunu tala mambu mu nkanda I. Bu kameni tambula, nganga una yimbila mukunga bonso bwabu: Kambi ve lwabakinina yandi Munyangi. Kambi nge wasimba, kwayambula kwe, yaaya. Nkyangu wabeeta, kokula mwene.

Ndyena kangulu kwa Kinkita bu kena mpasi zazingi, buna nganga una nyangu salu dya mvimba ye vaavula bilongo byabyonsono. Buna ndyena wakangulu mpasi zeti dekuka. Nganga una bonga lubongo ye kuba lo ku luse ye va mbata ntu a muntu, nganga una tentika kooko kwandi va yulu mutu wambeedo ye banda lubongo mbanda zitatu, mboki nukutisa zitatu va mbombo. Bu kana vola mabunga mu lubongo, nganga una tangumuna: Nuuka-nuuka, yandi unuuka, nga ngeye ku munuuki ko.

Mboki una bunda lubongo mu nitu mwayikinina byela ye tangumuna: Kumukoodi binama ko, wavonda nganga, wasaala ye nani, mwene, mu yika binama, mwene. Binteka mamba maaku, bintyaba nkuni byaku, nkyangu wabeeta, kokokula mwene. Mboki nganga una teka zokuna myemo va salu dyadikeke dya Kinkita ye nwiika muntu,

kadi masalu mole mena, dyankaka dyaluta natwanga mu kwe buki. Nga dyadinene kadinatwanga konso konso ko, kadi yandi i Ngo Mfumu uvwandanga kaka mu nzo. Va nkati salu vena nsindu ye nsengila ye nguba ye masangu ye mfulangi ye binkoki ye nsaku-nsaku ye mpemba yayingi beni ye bifutu-futu byabikeke. Mungingi sangu wena va nkati salu. Wau ubanzulwanga ti wowo i mukuyu wa Nkita.

Kinkita does not remain where it has attacked. It will attack whether it has been invoked or not; that is why it is called Kinkita, because it does not recognize friendship. For that reason, too, it requires people to crouch at water-courses on Bukonzo and Mpika days; if they do not it is likely to afflict them, when they go on a journey, or to the fields, to the water, or sit by the fire.

For its force and deceitfulness it is also called Kipeka; it cannot go three months without attacking someone on its wanderings.

When the nganga comes to treat someone afflicted by Kinkita he shreds leaves of lemba-lemba and collects twigs of *mfilu* and *nlolo*. Then he supplicates Kinkita, that it may release the victim, as I have already written. When it has replied, the nganga sings as follows: "If you have seized him, release him, if you have smitten him, relieve him!"

When someone attacked by Kinkita is in great pain, the nganga undoes his whole nkisi bag and spreads out all the medicines. The patient's sufferings diminish. Nganga takes a raffia cloth, wipes it over the patient's head and face, and strikes the cloth three times, then makes him sniff it three times. While he is smelling the cloth the nganga recites: "Sniff, sniff, he is sniffing, but do not you smell him."

Then he strikes the joints of the patient's body with the cloth to strengthen them and recites: "Do not loosen his joints; if your servant is dead, who will remain, who will be close to you. Your little bags, your bagworms; if you struck him, relieve him." Then the nganga grinds up the medicines from the little Kinkita bag and gives the patient a potion.

There are two tasks: for healing, only the little bag is used; the larger one, Ngo Mfumu, is not carried about but stays in the house. In the little bag is a grindstone, coarse gravel, peanuts, maize, mfulang[an]-fruit, hooks, nsaku-nsaku, a lot of chalk and many little packets. There is a corncob in it, which is thought to be the spirit, Nkita.

Nga bifutu-futu ye mpiha za mikanda mya mikanka ye mikubulu bimanukwanga mu yulu mu ngudi a nzo. Nkianguu yandi kibeni Ngo Mfumu ukomunwanga mbuka mu ngudi a nzo. Sa bikulu byole va nsi mboki tuula yandi va yulu ye mukuta ye kisa kyasokwa mpemba.

Nkyanguu bu babukidi mu masalu mamakeeke ti kavodidi ko, buna mubuka nkati salu. Yandi unietama nga ngeye kumunyetani ko. Yambula mwana a nganga, mwene. Bu kakuna nkati, me nabuka kunu mbazi. Sansa mpati, wasansa mbongo. O wo mbukila wabeela Munyangi. E yaaye, o mpwila mamba. Ku budi ngoma [= vimbisa kulu] yi mukanda ko, mwene.

Dyaka mpe ngolo zankaka zena yandi mu kakila muntu mabuta. Nkyanguu nkento vo kalendi vika nata ko, buna una sakumunwa mu yandi mbo lenda nata. Nsakumunu yena bonso bwabu. Ndyena una tentika maaluu mandu va yulu lubongo, ngudi a nganga ye ngudi a nsimba bana mukila mamoni va mukumba ma mantela, tala bonso bu makilwanga mu buka vo mu vanda. √ Mankaka zinga mu nsansi a koko nate ye va mutima mboki va nsoso a diisu nate ye va kutu. Mu mavungi ma mooyo mu dyambu dya sakumuna mabuta i bidimbu byabi ∪∪. Bu bameni tuula bidimbu byobyoo mboki kama mante mu mooyo ye ku manima.

Mwina kwa ndyena bukulu: Kana nwa malamuu mu lumbu ki kabukulu ko, nganga mpe kana nwa malamuu ko nate ye meni buka, nga kateka kinwina sumukini, kalendi vutuka buka lumbu kyokyo ko, dyaka nzo yikalanga Ngo Mfumu ka yisingukungu mata ma mantela ko, kansi mankindula mbombo ku nsi.

Mboki nganga Kinkita bu kafwidi buna nkisi usumukini, kani nganga una yiba, sumukini nate ye kana sumbila nganga zankaka nsakila ye malamuu, mbo banganga nandi bana vutuka kilwa ye sakumunwa. Nganga bu kadila mansangasa kani kala [ntama] dyeka, buna kana bumina Ngo Mfumu ko, kadi wasumukini, nkyanguu una teka kilwa kwa ngudi a nsimba ye sakumunu, mboki kana vutuka simba wo. Vo buka bankaka, nganga kaka kena luve mu sakumuna muntu, ngudi a nsimba vo kena vo ko. Nkyanguu vo sumuka vo ku vanda nate ye ngudi a nsimba kaka una tekila mu sakumuna, mboki ngudi a nganga una landila.

The little packets, the whisks with squirrel-skin and the minkubulu are hung up inside the house. Stand a forked pole on the ground and hoist the nkisi with a basket and a pot full of chalk.

The invocation during treatment with the little bag: "He is crushed, do not you crush him. Leave this client alone. You heal on the inside, I on the outside. Soothe his body, make him well... Do not strike the drum (make his leg swell), sir."

The second function that it has is to protect fertility. If a woman cannot bear a child she can be treated with this nkisi and be cured. The blessing is as follows. She extends her legs over the raffia cloth. The nganga and a mother of twins mark straight lines around her navel, as usual for healing or composing a nkisi: √ Some are drawn from her wrists to her chest, others from the corners of her eyes to her ears. On her flanks, in order to bless the womb, are marks like this: ∪∪ When they have made these signs they spit saliva on the belly and the back.

Rules for the patient: May not drink palmwine on the day of treatment. The nganga too may not drink until the treatment is over; if he does he is polluted and may not heal on that day. In the house in which Ngo Mfumu is kept one may not stand guns with muzzles pointing upwards.

When the nganga of Kinkita dies the nkisi is violated. Should the nganga steal it is polluted until he has paid a fee and palmwine to other banganga who will restore the marks and blessing. If the nganga has shed tears, even long ago, he may not address Ngo Mfumu, for he is polluted and must first be blessed and marked with lines by a mother of twins; then he may touch his nkisi. The nganga is not entitled to bless anyone except in the presence of a mother of twins. In a case of pollution or consecration the mother of twins must first bless, then the nganga follows her.

Nganga ya bakala yibikwanga ngudi a nganga, yandi kuntudila bakisi mu mooko mandi ye tangumuna: Mono mpati aku, mono nganga aku ye b.b. Mwana a nganga bu kameni tambula nkisi, mboki bana kwenda ku nseke nda. Kuna ngudi a nganga kana teela minlongo ye mbukulu. Kuna mpe kana zaabila makaya ma kana bukila mu beela beela.

Mwana a nganga bu kazolele zaaba mbukulu zazingi, buna una tatamana mu sumbilanga ngudi a nganga malamumu, kidi kavama mu tuudisa mu mana. Nga ngudi a nganga kanwa kyayukuta na musamu u kaketi sweka, teedi wo.

Nkyangunu ngudi a nganga bu kana ta biina kwa baana ba nganga kutoma kwaka kati ni yena ti, ngulu bu kakangidi ti, ta misamu mi wayena ku nseke nda, kulendi myo ta ko, nga wamana myo ta kwa wankaka nge kibeni sakisi kivumunu kyaku bunga. Nkyangunu myonso miteedi ngudi a nganga mikebwanga nate ye mfwilu, mboki nganga Kinkita bu kana yobila va mamba suku dya mpika una teka kandika nitu mu makaya ye tuba mankaka ku banda mu nlangu ye mankaka ku mongo a mamba, mbo kayobila. Nganga bu kameni kwaka [sikidikisa] mamonsono, buna uyimbilanga nkunga: Kambi kyo kuvuna, kyo kedika, Kambi lwabwesi nkebila biina.

Nganga wena salu mu bankaka ye diila bantu mvutu kwa nkisi andi. Nganga lenda kandika bikandu mu nzo vo ku mfuba kani musafu vo mu ba. Nkyangunu vo muntu wa mumpuma wenzi yangula bikandu una kwiza kwa ngudi a nganga ye yandi una kumumwanga munkwiza. Nga vo lembolo mwangu munkwiza buna una beela.

Nkisi bu usumukini, mwana a nganga una tumisa ngudi a nganga. Ngudi a nganga una teba bilongo byankaka bonso lusaku-saku ye nkandikila ye luyalu ye tondo ye tuula byo nua ye nungu za nzo ye kama byo mwana a nganga: Tamuna walala, katumuka wadi Kinkita nseke, wadi Kinkita mamba. Nganga bu kameni kubasakumuna ye nkisi yandi kibeni bavendi ka basiidi basumuka ko, nkyangunu ngudi a nganga bu kana tuudisa bunganga una bonga kizika-zika ye tafuna kyo ye lobula mante va kooko kwa mwana a nganga, buna nkisi utuudidi nadede.

A male nganga is called the principal nganga; he puts the spirits in the hand [of his apprentice] and says, "I am your magician, your nganga, etc." When the apprentice has received the nkisi he goes to a distant place where the chief nganga tells him the rules and the treatments. There too he is taught the plants to treat each disease.

When the apprentice wants to learn many treatments he keeps supplying the master with palmwine, that he may continue to explain the techniques. When the master is content with the wine, he tells what he has been keeping secret.

The instructor, when he tells his apprentices what the taboos are, says that they must not reveal what they have seen and heard at the place of initiation; whoever does so will be putting his own life at risk. So whatever the master tells them they keep until death. When a nganga of Kinkita goes to bathe on a Mpika day must protect his body with leaves, and put other leaves both upstream and downstream from his bathing place. When he has finished his instruction, the nganga sings: "Tell it false, tell it true, be sure to keep the rules."

The nganga also answers people's questions by means of his nkisi. He may put protections around the house, the fields, a *n'safu* tree or palm. If a profane person should violate the protection he comes to the nganga to be treated with munkwiza creeper, lest he fall ill.

Should the nkisi be polluted, the junior nganga must send for his master, who will scrape medicines such as *lusaku-saku*, *nkandikila*, *luyalu*, *tondo*, mixed with *nzo* pepper and blesses the disciple saying, "Be orderly, diminish, separate from the Nkita of the bush, the Nkita of the water." When the nganga has finished blessing the nkisi he himself composed, the fault is ended; he makes the magician's gestures, takes eleusine, chews it, and spits on the disciple's hand. Then the nkisi is properly restored.

Nganga bu kavandanga Kipeeka, buna batootanga makaya mamingi, mankaka mazayakani beni, bonso lubasa, dyadya, lubota, mandala, malaala mbwandi, ye makaya ma nseke, mumbangu-mbangu, mulolo, mundanda nzila.

Kinkita kavandungu dyonso-dyonso suku ko, kansi mpika, bukonso. Bu bana toona mu vanda mu nkookila bana diila nkyelo busuku bwa mvimba bana kyelolo nakyedi-kyedi, nakyenzele, mbo na mene toota makaya. Una mo toota kana nwa malavu ko, ye nganga zakila mpe ka bana nwa malavu ko, nate ye bameeni vanda.

Ntoonono yena bonso bwabu: Nsusu ndundu malavu: ka. E ka. Ma buyeke. E ye, bisi kongo, yoluka, bisi mamba, yoluka. Nki twasaka? Mbongo bantu.

Bu kamene bikula bitoolo, buna nanguni mpemba ye yimbila nkunga bonso bwabu: E kala-kala ya nandi. O yaaya, mfwidi nsoni za kwinamanga [yinama]. O. e yaaya wasabuka Nzadi wabwa mu mamba.

Mboki kuna lusaba ye kanga makaya mamonsono ma batootidi mu lusaba, kansi ngudi a nsimba una teka sakumuna mo mboki sokula bulu ku nsi lusaba ye zinga musonya nkata. Ngudi za nganga ye baala ba nganga bana zenga milengi, tuula myo mu bulu ye tentika tadi va yulu ye simba bunganga. Bu barneni sala bunganga mu lumbu kya nsina mu nkookila bana nwa malavu ye dia byalambu. Baboo mu bula bana lamba bidui ye kamba. Nganga bu kana lombamba bya ndia, bana nata byole-byole bya ngudi a nsimba.

Mu lumbu kya landa na mene ngwadi bantu bana kombula bombe ye sasala bya nkwalu mu nzo zau ye nata byo ku mamba ye tuba byabyo mu mamba ye bankaka yobila, kadi benzi kubula mfumfu. Bu bafumini ku mamba bavaana vwa kwa bangudi za nganga kani nsusu zole bonso bwena fu kya Kinkita mu tambula byole-byole. Kansi lusaba luna sala mbo kyonso lumbu si batumuna lo ye tula lo va taku dya ba, buna ba ditumbulu.

When the banganga compose Kipeka they collect many kinds of herbs, some of them well-known, such as palm-rib, elephant grass, ironwood, palm leaf, *malaala mbwandi*, and savanna plants such as *mbanga-mbangu*, mulolo, and *mundanda-nzila*.

Kinkita cannot be composed on just any day but only on Mpika and Bukonso. In the evening when they begin to compose it they feast all night long and then just at day-break they collect plants. The one who collects them may not drink palmwine, nor may the banganga when they are painted, until the work is over.

The ritual begins like this [call and response]:

White chicken, palmwine? - There!

People on earth? - Speak!

Spirits in the water? - Speak!

What do we seek? - Offspring!

At the end of the responses they hold up chalk and sing a song as follows:

"Oh my, I am overcome with shame and despair; the one who crossed Nzadi fell in the water."

Then in the *lusaba* shed they tie all the plants they have collected. A mother of twins must first bless them and then dig a hole under the shed and surround it with a ring of clay. The principal nganga and their assistants cut some of their hair, put it in the hole, put a stone on top and exchange the magicians' handshake[?]. Having worked all day, in the evening they eat and drink. Everybody in the village feasts and dances. If the priests ask for food, it must be brought two at a time by the mothers of twins.

Early next morning the people sweep out the ashes and old mats from their houses, take them to the water and throw them all in; some bathe to get rid of the dust. When they have cleaned themselves they pay the priests, perhaps two chickens since it is the rule with Kinkita to take things in pairs. The *lusaba* stays as it is until one day they pick it up and put it at the foot of a palm tree, which is thereby polluted.

Kubungu

The two examples in the collection are similar to look at but come from different places, Mukimbungu (1919.580) and Kingoyi (1919.1314). Both are described by Laman personally. The first description seems to fit better with the Kingoyi example, but perhaps the other nkisi is incomplete. The nkisi is very smoky, but was once colored red, as is the extra little bundle attached to its handle. The gourd appears to have contained (black) gunpowder. The extra knots on the handles of both examples remain unexplained.

The name Kubungu comes from the root *kuba*, "to strike," and the shape of the nkisi is designed for the purpose of striking the body of a patient who has fallen from a tree -- a form of massage. Makundu (LKM:770) says that Kubungu could be used to strengthen children who were slow to walk, thus presumably tending to fall down too much. Porters on the route Matadi-Kinshasa in the 1890s also used this nkisi.



19.1.580. Medicine bag of *nkubulu* type for nkisi Kubungu, 38 x 10 cm. Mukimbungu.



19.1.1314. Medicine bag of *nkubulu* type for nkisi Kubungu, colored red but now very smoky; attached gourd appears to have contained black gunpowder. Kingoyi.

Kubungu dyena mu lusalu lwa nkelele mpila mosi maalu nswalu, mbatu kinkonko kyena momo. Dyena mpoka mu ngudi ye musungwa. Mbo kitutu, bakebilanga mo longo vo mfula. Nsyense za mabulu, usakulu mu kaata bandoki mu fuku.

Mu salu mwena byabi, mu ndimba yayingi yaniku: mpemba ye tukula, lwangu, lusaku-saku, luyala, luteete, lufulangi, ngongo a Nzadi, kisimani, nsomba nguba, kinkodi, tondo, kitutu, nkandikila, nkiduku, luzangi, simba dya ngembo, masangu, tadi dya buta, muzazu, lungazi, mpoka ya nkombo.

Mu Kubungu dya nzole. Va nsinga vatulwa mfumbu. Longo byabi: muzita, mbeezi, musungwa (=musonya ukengo vo lwele), luzimbu luteka zikwa va bavandila ku nsi a tadi. Makaya ma nseke: mumbangu-mbangu, mundanda-nzila, kuluba dya nseke, mufilu, mulolo.

Mbukulu: vo muntu sonokene mu ba, vo muti wankaka, balenda vaana myemo, kansi luta bunda mu nitu yayoo, bunda beni mu ngolo, mu mwangisa menga. Vo lwala kalwezi, kanga musonya ku banda kwena mputa, mbo kubonga ndimba mu salu ye nika yankaka ye lakumuna va mputa. Vo kuulu vo kooko bokuka bonga ntebele (=nlangu ye malavu matuulu mu nteke), tenda kulunsi va nsi, mbo bukuruna malavu, mbo bonga ntebele ye sa makulunsi mu nitu, mu byela. Kisenzi kya mbasa kikengo mpe va kooko kwabokuka.

Demvo, cahier 28; Kingoyi

Kubungu wena nkumbu yoyo mu dyambu dya wayitu mu nitu a muntu, vo mu ba vo mu nti, buna beti wo mu yita ku nima ye va mbunzu ye mu mpenga za meeso, buna momo mu beti kwe se bobo mweti monika dimbu kya ndimba nanganzu. Ni kuma we na nkumbu Kubungu. Kubungu wena mu kanda dya myansakulu. Finkisi fyafi fyenandi waunene ko. Vo muntu sonokeni, buna banasa bonso bobo mpasi menga masangama mu nitu ya mvimba ye lembwa mu vanga mpasi. Mwa nkisi wowo wawangwa mu ndimba. Ndimba yoyo yakangwa va lubongo. Vovo va salu vatulwa longo byabi: lusaku-saku, tondo, kaazu, luyala. Byobyo ni bi kana teba ye taafuna byo, mboki kwakoma mu salu ye yita Kubungu mu nitu a muntu ye tangumuna ena: Nasau-sau, nalenge-lenge. Wadi Nzu Ngoma watuuka bumpati, watuuka bunganga. Mbo mpe bonga nsanga ya baka ye mu yita yo mpe mu nitu. Bu bameni yo mu yita mpe na yoyo, bana muziyola, bu kana yobila mu nlangu.

In Kubungu there is a guinea-hen feather, meaning "quick on its feet;" it may also be a familiar. Inside there is a horn and a knot of eleusine. A gourd, in which they keep medicines or powder. A whisk of *mabulu*-grass, used to grab witches at night.

In the bag are these things, together with much powdered red clay: white clay, red camwood, *lwangu*, *lusaku-saku*, *luyala*, *luteete*, *lufulangi*, Calabar bean, *kisimani*, *nsomba nguba*, a piece of string, *tondo*, a gourd, *nkandikila*, *nkiduku*, *luzangi*, claw of a bat, maize, a gun-flint, *muzazu*-cocoon, *lungazi*, and a goat's horn.

In the second Kubungu, gum has been added to the string. The medicines: *muzita*, *mbeezi*, *musungwa* (=a knot of eleusine), a *luzimbu* shell that has been buried under the stone where they compose *minkisi*. Savanna plants: *mumbangu-mbangu*, *mundanda-nzila*, *kuluba dya nseke*, *mufilu*, *mulolo*.

Treatment: if someone has fallen from a palm or other tree they may give him medicines, but especially they strike him all over his body [with the *nkisi*], very hard, to dispell the swelling. If there is an open wound they tie eleusine below it, then take red clay from the bag, crush some and spread it on the wound. For a broken leg they make a little mud with water and palmwine, stretch out the limb, pour wine on it, then mark crosses on the body. A splint of palmribs is also strapped on the broken leg.

Kubungu goes by this name on account of striking a man's body; [if he has fallen from] a palm or tree, they strike him on the back, the forehead and the corners of the eyes, which produces a bright red mark. That's why it is called Kubungu. It belongs to the *nsakulu* class. This little *nkisi* is quite small. If someone has fallen, they do this to him to spread the blood through his body so that it will hurt less. The *nkisi* is made up in red clay, tied in raffia. In the bag these medicines are put: *lusaku-saku*, *tondo*, *cola-nut*, *luyala*. These are scraped and chewed and put in the bag; then they strike the patient with Kubungu, saying:

"Come now, softer, softer. Old Nzu Ngoma brought this technique." They also strike the body with a *baka* twig. When they have done all that they run away and bathe in the river.

Nga yandi mwa Kubungu wamanuku va mwelo a nzo. Nga vo beti wo vanda ka balendi andi futa vwa kwa nganga dyadingi ko, kansi madia baluta dianga vo bantu beti wo vanda. Bu beti buka mpe kalendi tambula nsamanu ko. Mbukulu andi yena vo sonekene mu ba vo mu nsafu evo mu nti wankaka kasonekene. Mbo mpe bu kasonokene bubu mbo kya mbazi balenda kwiza mu bunda mo. Makubungu mavandu kwa babakala kaka nga ka bakento ko.

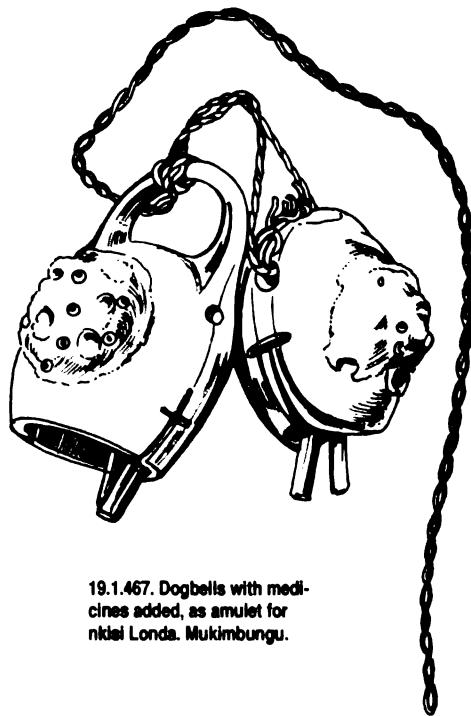
Kubungu is hung above the door of the house. It does not cost much to pay the nganga to compose one; mostly he is given food for the composition. For treatment, too, he does no get much. The treatment is for someone who has fallen out of a palm or other tree, or even for an ordinary fall. Kubungu are composed by men only, not women.

Londa

Laman describes Londa as a well known nkisi for women and children (LKIII:133). It comes in several variants, of which those from the south, around Mukimbungu, include "Londa of the woods" and "Londa of the savanna," named respectively after the places in which they are composed. The nkisi is materially complex, and includes amulets to be worn by the woman or child protected by the nkisi. The Museum's collection of Londa from Mukimbungu includes two bundles, called "male" (19.1187) and "female" (19.1323), which may correspond to "forest" and "savanna," respectively; and three amulets. It also includes the splendidly complex Londa dia Nlangu ("Water Londa," 19.565), concerning which we have no specific information.

One of the amulets (19.467) consists of two dog-bells (*madihu*) hung on a string. Each has been medicated by a pack of medicines attached to it. They are called "the voices of Londa" (LKIII:134), and are apparently to be attached to "Londa of the woods." One of the others (19.1190) has a similar bell, together with five little metal bells of European manufacture, made for a child's harness or the like; some beads; and a selection of other propitious objects: *kyala-mooko* fruits and a cocoon of the licitor bag-worm, *tyaba nkuni*. The third amulet (19.1312) consists of a small gourd on a string, with a number of beads, seeds, and the horned beak of a pangi-bird, which is said to be stupid (LKD); the amulet is called *nsanga*, and may have had white clay in it.

This is a nkisi that emphasises the complementary harmony of men and women as a prerequisite to family wellbeing, including not only successful raising of chil-



19.1467. Dogbells with medicines added, as amulet for nkisi Londa. Mukimbungu.

19.1.565. Medicine collection, with dogbells, attached to a calabash, for nkisi Londa dia Nangu. Mukimbungu.



dren but the acquisition of wealth. Laman's text (LKIII:133-34) juxtaposes material from Makundu of Mukimbungu with other information by Nsemi (cahier 389) appropriate to a northern variety, "Londa of giving birth and nursing." Most of what Laman has chosen to quote from Makundu is about the "savanna" part of the Londa from Mukimbungu, which is obviously about mothers and children; savanna, as opposed to forest, is regarded as the female domain. Makundu's description of the "forest" part of Londa says that it is intended to procure wealth; its composition is accordingly very expensive. Unfortunately, Makundu does not describe the contents of the principal objects, the male and female bundles.

Some of the taboos of this nkisi are, as usual, based on puns for which material objects provide the mnemonics. The *nsanga* calabash recalls *n'sanga*, an offshoot; the name of the tree, *kyenga*, under which a mother should not lay her child, means "misfortune." *Mavevolo* apparently means some kind of dried vegetation, but the pun refers to harmful winds (dust devils), which in turn may be manifestations of hostile spirits, *mpeve*.



19.1.1187. Medicine bundle for nkisi Londa, male version. Mukimbungu.



19.1.1323. Medicine bundle for nkisi Londa, female version, 22.5 cm. long. Mukimbungu.

Makundu, cahier 260; Mukimbungu

Londa dya nsitu i nkisi wa mbakila mbongo zazingi beni kwandi. Bu uvandwanga, buna uvandulwanga ku mfinda kaka. Muna tombukanga, buna umeni vanda nampyaa. Kansi mu wa nlongo, buna ku vata kaka miteelwa. Mboki kani mitewa bakidi wo kembila mu lumbu tatu evo biya ye kyania kyokyo i ki usomwanga madibu ndambu ye ndambu. Mabikwanga vo mpovila za Londa.

Mboki bu mameni soma, buna i longo si katanguswa kwa wateka dyo vanda. Bu kana badika byo tanga, buna ntanguli a longo i yayi: Longo byole kabika vena malavu mole. Nkyangunu mbongo zingi uvwilanga mu vanda wo. Bu ubukwanga mpe mu baana ye bamakota, ntalu a mbongo kazekila mwemo vana nsusu mosi. Kafutula mabonzo vana mpe nsusu mosi. Kavaana mfusa zena mu nsanga andi vana nsusu ye malavu. Mboki mpe vo una kulambila nti, buna una vaana nsusu zole ye malavu mpe. Mboki longo bi katanguswanga i byabi kwandi: luvemba ye nkandikila ye tondo ye nkiduku ye luzibu, mboki luyala ye luteete ye kala zima ye nsaku-nsaku ye nungu za nsamba.

Mboki bu divaikusulwanga mwana, vo wa ntete, buna kyelwa zalala tuuka mu nkookila nate ye mbazi nsuuka, mboki si ka wo sumbula mavambu. Bu kabeki mu kooko ko, buna yandi ngudi una mana soka bidiwanga mu mpidi bina taana bantu va vambu di bana sukisila mu zyeta. Taana koko kubikwanga sanza mpidi a ngudi.

Bu kameni kusumbula mavambu, buna mboki si kalomba kwezi dyandi. Bu kameni dyo tambula, buna mboki si kakamba nlongo mina kebulwa mwana wowo.

Kwezi di katambulanga mu mwana u kavaikisi i dyadi: Ngulu mosi ye makumole mansusu ye nsusu zole. Nga malavu ka menani ntalu ko, vaana ye vaana kaka. Ka bisilwanga kumu (nkanda) ko bi una vaanina mu nkisi wowo ko. Mboki bu kameni tambula kwezi dyandi, mboki bika vaana nlongo mina kebwa mu mwana.

Nlongo i myami: Ka bana vaana dinkondo dyayokwa ko, ka bana wo fuka nlele ku ntu ko. Nlangu una yobila mwana ka wasiila kumu (noka) ko. Wonso tumini wo kasa kumu. Yambula bakala ye nkento ka luna zonza ye fwema ko. Lwazonza dyeno lunsafi ye kala yenge mu nzo eno. Nga vo luna kebasana nganzi, buna mwana usumukini ye kala beela beni.

"Londa of the woods" is a nkisi for obtaining great wealth. When it is composed it is composed only in the forest. That is for bringing up the spirit. As for announcing the medicines, they are recited in the village, and for that there is a party lasting three days. On the fourth, dog-bells are tied on either side [of the nkisi?]; they are called the voices of Londa.

When they have been attached, the medicines are declared by the person who has composed the nkisi. As he begins to announce them, they are paid for as follows: For declaring two of them he gets two jugs of palmwine. It costs a great deal to compose this nkisi. When it is used to treat children or adults, the preparation of medicine costs a chicken. Potions, the same. For the chalk in an amulet, pay a chicken and palmwine. For a herbal preparation, you pay two chickens and palmwine besides. The medicines that are announced are the following: [standard ingredients]

When a child is brought out for the first time, if it is a first child, they stay up all night until dawn, and then carry it to the crossroads. If it does not grip with its hand [?], its mother puts foodstuffs in her basket to be taken by people at the crossroads, where they end their journey. This theft is called "robbing the mother's basket."

When [the nganga] has elevated the child at a crossroads, he will ask for his fee. After receiving it, he will tell what rules must be observed for this child.

The fee he gets for bringing out the child is: a pig and 22 chickens. As for palmwine, no point in reckoning it, just give it and keep giving. When they are giving for this nkisi nobody says no. Having received his fee, he says what rules are to be observed for this child.

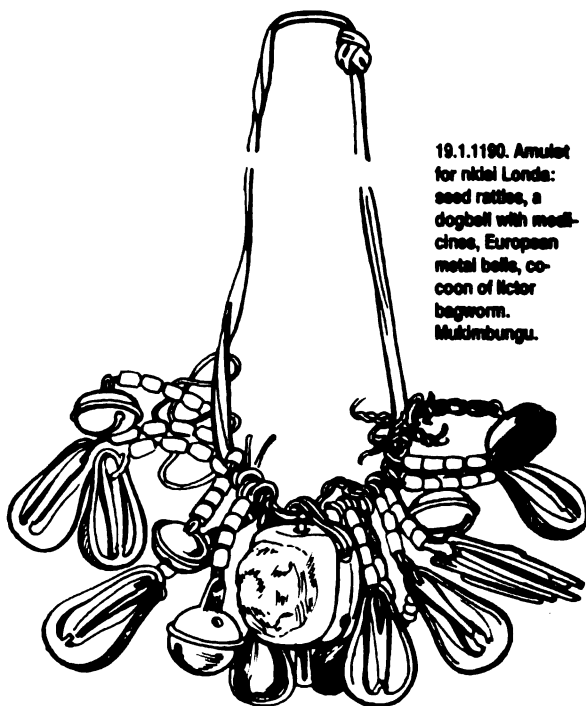
The rules are these: they may not give the child roast plaintain nor cover its head with a cloth. Whoever is sent to fetch water to bathe the child shall not refuse. Husband and wife should not quarrel or be angry; if they do, they should snap their fingers and be glad in their house. If they guard their anger, the child is polluted and will be very ill.

Bu wena ye wo mu yinza, kusaani wo va nti a kyenga ko, langa va mpevo a mwindu kaka. Nga kuvaani wo makula. Wapamuka dima ku ntu a mwana. Vo mavevolo mweni, zaaka mo watuula ku ntu a mwana. Uvovanga: saala kwaku kwendani ye tembo ko. Walembwa bo sa usumukini kwandi. I bobo bwena mu nkisi a Londa.

When you take it to the fields do not set it under a *kyenga* tree but always in the shade of a *mwindu* tree. Do not give it *makula*. If it starts, spit on its head [for a blessing]. If you see dry husks [?], cut them and put them on the child's head saying, "Stay put, don't be carried off by a storm." Whoever fails to do so has transgressed against nkisi Londa.



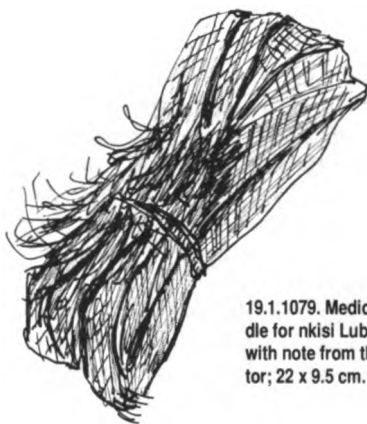
19.1.1312. Necklace-amulet for nkisi Londa; calabash with medicines, 12.5 cm. long. Mukimbungu.



19.1.1190. Amulet for nkisi Londa: seed rattles, a dogbell with medicines, European metal bells, cocoon of hickory bagworm. Mukimbungu.

Lubangala

The most interesting thing about this nkisi is a note left tucked into it by the collector. The note says, "I paid .50 [50 centimes]. It is a nkisi, Lubangala. Dig a hole in the ground, put in white clay, *kyala moko*, and the horn of a *nsuma* antelope. If anyone has eye trouble, he can be treated." The note was written by Lutete of Lolo, who repeated the information in cahier 224. The bag seems too fragile to open.



19.1.1079. Medicine bundle for nkisi Lubangala, with note from the collector; 22 x 9.5 cm. Kinkenge.

Matenzi

This, like Lubangala, is described in a brief text attributed to Babutidi (LKM:857), although Babutidi's notebooks contain no such text. It was in fact written by Lutete (cahier 231). The nkisi, from Kinkonzi, consists of two packets, one of them carried in a net bag.

The text says, "Matenzi [from *tenza mbata*, to slap someone's face] is a nkisi in a snail shell on which a mirror is fixed with gum. In it there is white clay, a bullet used in war, bone of a *kumbi* bird; it is tied round with a raffia cloth and put in a bag. If you suffer from *makuma* [?] you can be treated with it. If you are cured, compose the nkisi yourself."



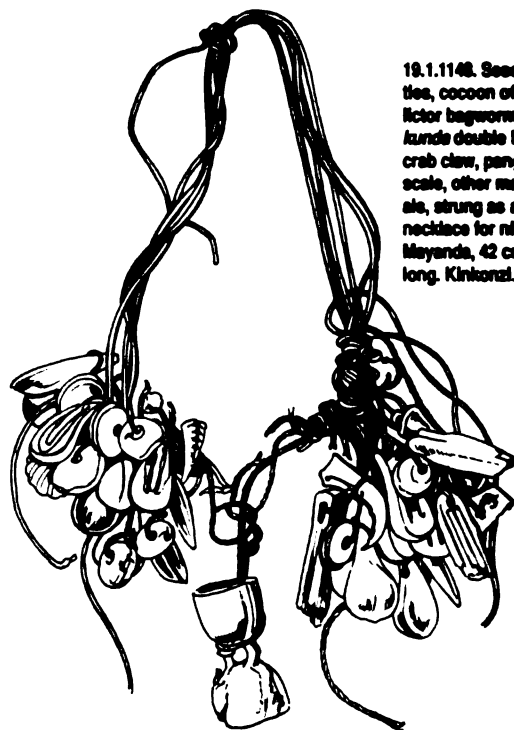
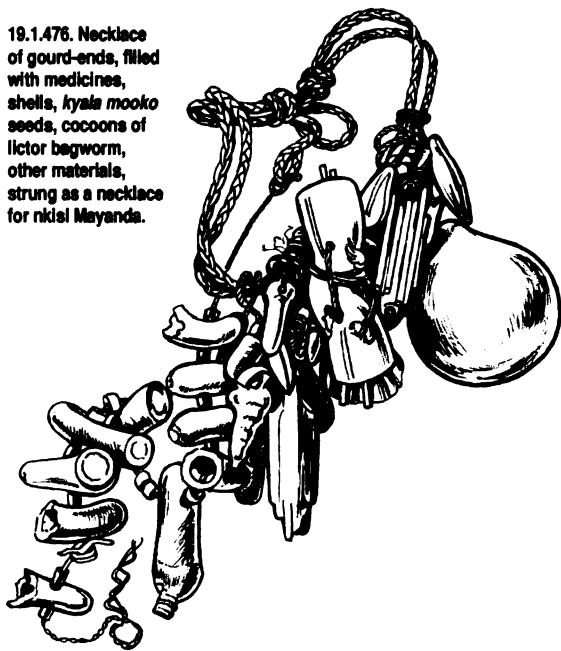
19.1.1156. Medicine bundle for nkisi Matenzi, with carrying net. Bundle, 17.5 cm.; net, 26 cm. Kinkonzi.

Mayanda

These two *minkisi* appear to be examples of the same thing. 19.476, from a location unspecified, is called *Mayanda*. Its appearance matches the description of *Mayanda* ascribed to Babutidi (LKM:857; in fact the author is Lutete, cahier 224), and is like that of 19.1148, from Kinkonzi, though the latter is called *Kivumba*. We have no further information about any *Kivumba*.

19.476 has two parts, of which one may be presumed to be missing from 19.1148. The first part is a necklace, which in 19.476 includes a number of gourd-ends, cut off and filled with medicines; some blue glass beads; what may be the jawbone of a small animal; conical and fan-shaped shells; a section of twig; the pear-shaped fruit, *kyala mooko*; two larvae of the lictor bagworm; and a double bell (*kunda*) with a medicine pack added to it. All this has been drenched in red color.

19.1476. Necklace of gourd-ends, filled with medicines, shells, *kyala mooko* seeds, cocoons of lictor bagworm, other materials, strung as a necklace for nkisi *Mayanda*.



19.1.1148. Seed rattles, cocoon of lictor bagworm, *kunda* double bell, crab claw, pangolin scale, other materials, strung as a necklace for nkisi *Mayanda*, 42 cm. long. Kinkonzi.

The corresponding necklace in 19.1148 has Calabar beans instead of gourd-ends, the pangolin scale to which Babutidi refers, and a crab claw, among other things.

No. 19.476 also includes another "necklace" or amulet, of the type called *nsanga*, with a small closed gourd.

LKD says that *Mayanda* is a great *nkisi* but, given the paucity of information about it, that remark may be based merely on the name (from *yanda*, to make much of oneself). Lutete's text follows.

"This *nkisi* is *Mayanda*. They put in it Calabar beans, shells, seeds, woodcutter [bagworm] larvae, a pangolin scale, root of *nkala* tree, vines and a double bell. This can heal someone. If you are suffering from severe loss of weight they may try to see whether *Mayanda* is the *nkisi* causing it, and treat you with the *nkisi* to make you gain weight. For the treatment, put *tukula-red* on the jaws, the forehead and the belly. Then they sing [an obscene little song]."

Mayiza

This Mayiza is from Mukimbungu and is described by Makundu (LKIII:164-65). As he says, it is large and heavy. It is tightly tied, and has a crudely made bell tied to it. There are no signs of color, and it has not been kept in smoke.

Lunungu (cahier 159; LKIII:164) and Mindoki (cahier 244; LKIII:213) describe another Mayiza, from Nganda. Mindoki says that the nganga's familiars, a pair of poisonous kanza snakes who incarnate the spirits of his predecessors, sleep coiled around the bundle of the nkisi.

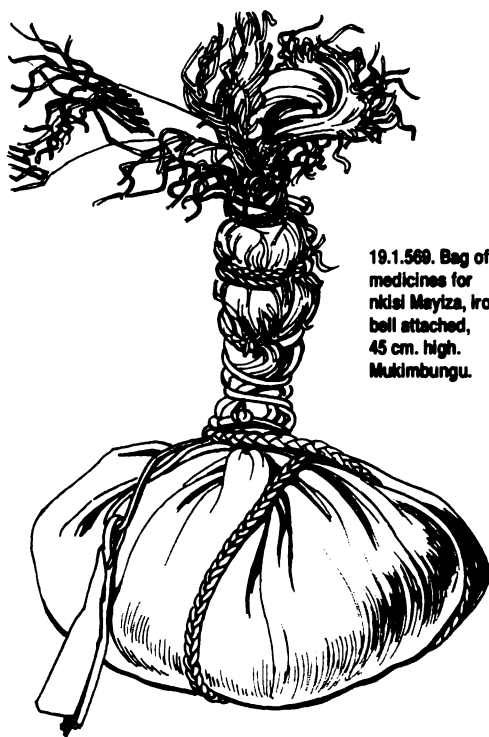
This is a water nkisi, and its lifegiving function is clearly distinguished from the death-dealing of those that combat witches; no chicken is sacrificed in its rites. A woman treated with it is required to behave respectfully towards water and towards ants, which represent the multitudinous fertility of water spirits. On the other hand, water is also the abode of the dead, and she must avoid not only cemeteries but manioc, whose tubers, soaked in water, recall the white bodies of the dead. The ingredients of the nkisi include not only savanna plants, associated with women in opposition to the forest, but signs of dangers to be avoided; for example, the claw of a hawk (*mayimbi*), lest the child be grabbed (*yimba*). In another version of the same pun, the woman must avoid *yimba* bananas. The significance of pig is not so clear.

As in many other nkisi, the child born under its special protection must be brought out for the first time in a prescribed manner. The house itself is an image of the womb.

Makundu, cahier 252; Mukimbungu

Mayiza i nkisi wena va bila dyadinene beni. Uvandulwanga mu lumbu bitatu evo biya. E kuma kadi waunene wena ye ubukwanga mu beela ye mu mabuta mpe. Nkyangunu wena zingi kyavandila mpe nadede.

Longo mpe i byabi kwandi utebulwanga: luvemba, luyala, nkandikila, luzibu, lufulangi, ngongo, tondo, ndingi, nkandi a sombo, kaazu ye nsemba. Mboki nkanda ngulu ya vata ye ntu a nsese ye nsunda ye mundanda nzila ye lunama. Mboki nkanda a mpakasa ye nteete ye nsonya ye luzala lwa mayimbi mpe ye ntu a ngola. Byobyoyi longo bya Mayiza. Mu buka mpe i byobyoyi kwandi bina bukulwa yonso yonso mbevo evo mabuta saka.



19.1.569. Bag of medicines for nkisi Mayiza, iron bell attached, 45 cm. high. Mukimbungu.

Mayiza is contained in a very large bag and takes three or four days to compose. It is this size because it both cures the sick and helps childbirth, so it is composed with many ingredients.

These are the medicines prepared in it: chalk, *luyala*, *nkandikila*, *luzibu*, *lufulangi*, Calabar bean, *tondo*, fossil resin, *sombo*-fish skin, kola nut, *nsemba* [these are ordinary medicines]. Also a piece of the skin of a domestic pig, the head of a *nsesi* antelope, *nsunda*, *mundanda-nzila*, *lunama*; a piece of buffalo hide, squash seed, nsonya-grass, a hawk's claw and a catfish head. The same are used to heal sickness or favor pregnancy.

Nga bu uvandwanga mu ndungu ye nkunga myonso kwandi mpe. Bu beti teba longo, buna ku nsi a nlele wa ndombe bana kukifuka nate ye bimeni mu teba. Mboki bana wo fukula. Mboki mpe nganga si kalomba malavu ma bana nwa mpe. Bu bameni nwa, ntumbu baka mbongo za mbaadi zi bana wo kanga nkisi. Nga ka uzengulwangani nsusu mu bandoki ko. Kansi mu buka ye vaikisa baana ye saka mabuta kaka. Vo bukidi mbееvo yinyeki, buna nlongo mi kana kumvaana i myami kwandi: bukulu ku Mayiza kana dia ngulu a vata ko ye kana mpe dia mayimba ko, yandi kadie lengo bya nguvu ko. I myomyo nlongo kavaananga kwa u kabukidi mu beela kukedi yandi.

Nga mu mabuta, vo nkento una lemba yaka vumu, buna i mwe vempisa mabonzo kwa nganga Mayiza mpe. Mabonzo i ma kwandi kavempanga: Taala kya mfilu ye nlolo ye kya mwindu ye nti a lunama-nama ye lemba-lemba.

Bu bameni vempa, ntumbu mo kanga vana mandala ma ntenda yalembwa diwa sambwadya. Nga ka malendi kangwa monso monso mandala ko. Bu mameni kanga va mandala, buna yandi nganga una mo teka nwiika ye mboki vaana mo nswa kwa yandi nkento, kidi kenda nwina ku vata dyandi. Ndwa tatu muna lumbu kana mo nwanga. Bu mameni mu nwa, i ntumbu soma mo tooto ye manika mo mu baka, kidi mayuma kwandi. Bu vumu kya mwana, i mwe vwata nsinga una syetulwa mu mavunya na nsusu ye kusa wo nkula ye kanga wo mu luketo lwa yandi nkento wena vumu.

Wuna teka wo samuna, mboki vwiika wo. Una kunkamba nlongo bu kabutidi ko. Tala, nsinga wowo kuna wo bwisa nlangu ko, wayobila mu nlangu, vuula wo. Bu meni yobila, mboki wavwata wo nsinga aku. Kuna tombula mayaka ko evo yinika mpe ko ye kuna mo dia mpe ko. Wasabuka nlangu, sisa nkolumuna. Wasumbuka nlonga wansalafu, sisa nkolumuna mpe. Wawaika ku mbazi nsuuka, teka sonika bombe ku zizi kyaku ye tuba dyankaka ku mbazi ye mboki vaika.

Mboki bu kameni buta mwana wowo mpe kani uzyeta, buna nate ye yandi nganga una wo kwiza vaikisa mu nzo mpe, mboki una zyeta mwamonsono. Nga vo nganga kayizi wo vaikisa ko, vo bana wo zyetisila ku diba, buna vo mwana una baka beela, buna nganga kani ubuka wo, buna bana teka futa kodi kwa yandi nganga, mboki kana wo buka ye sakumuna ye dima wo ye byeka wo nkumbu.

It is composed to the *ndungu* drum and whatever songs. The medicines are prepared under a dark cloth which is only removed when they are finished. Then the nganga asks for the palmwine they are to drink. Having drunk, they take the raffia clothe in which the nkisi is to be tied up. No chickens are sacrificed on account of witches, since the nkisi is used only to heal and to bless childbirth. If the woman conceives after treatment then the rules she is given are the following: she may not eat domestic pig, yimba bananas, or "hippo" yams.

For childbirth, if a woman has failed to conceive, she is given a potion by the Mayiza priest made from scrapings of the bark of *mfilu*, *nlolo*, *mwindu* and *lunama-nama* [savanna plants].

When they have been scraped he ties them in the leaf of a palm whose nuts have not been eaten; not just any palm leaf. The nganga takes some of the potion and gives it to the woman to drink and to take to her village to drink three times a day. When it is finished, she hangs the medicine from a peg on the wall so that it may dry out. When she becomes pregnant she puts on around her hips a cord into which chicken-down has been twisted and which has been colored red with *tukula*-wood.

The nganga first blesses her, then puts it on, and tells her what rules she is to observe. This cord must not get wet; when you bathe, take it off. After bathing, put it on again. Do not soak manioc, take it up out of the water or eat it. When you cross a stream, leave a leaf behind as a sign; the same if you cross a column of ants. Before emerging in the morning, mark your face with ash, and throw ashes outside.

When you have given birth you may not go abroad until the nganga has come to bring the child out of the house; then you may go anywhere. If the child were to be taken out by mistake, before the nganga had come, and it fell ill so that the nganga had to treat it, you would have to pay a fine for him to come and treat the child, bless it by spitting on it and sanctifying it with a special name.

Kwezi di kana tambula mu sakumuna i kimbundi kimosi ye nsusu zitatu. Nga mu kodi kyandi mpata mosi, mu dyambu dya basumuna mwana au bau kibeni. Bu kameni wo sakumuna, buna mboki si ka wo vaana nlongo emi mpe. Tala, kuna wo vika songa ku zandu ko ye kuna wo vaana mbizi a ngulu ko ye kuna tombula mayaka ye wo ko. Tala, mwana wowo kuna wo songa nkulu ko ye kuna kota ye wo ku zyami ko. Diidi ngulu kakotani mu nzo mu wena ko.

Nlongo myomyo wena mu buka ye mu vaikisa mwana, nga ka uzengulwanga nsusu ko evo tuula mfunya ko.

Wulenda mpe bukwa mu beela kwa vimbu ye kwa vumu vyoka ye kwa nitu kindakana mpe. Mboki vo muntu weti mona manyeta mu nitu, buna lenda zekulwa nsanga mu nkisi wowo.

The fee he gets for the blessing is a piece of cloth and three chickens. The fine is five francs, because the parents profaned the child themselves. When he blesses it, he declares these rules: do not go too soon to show the child in the market, nor give it pork to eat nor take manioc out of the water when the child is with you. Do not show it a dead body nor take it to a graveyard. No one who has eaten pork should enter the house where the child is.

These are the rules for healing and for bringing out the child. No chicken is sacrificed, nor tokens placed.

This nkisi also treats swelling, diarrhea and bodily feebleness. Also if anyone suffers from tenderness in the body, he may wear an amulet of this nkisi.

Mbenza

Mbenza is an apparently old nkisi that takes many forms. In Mayombe it is famous as the highest-ranking of the chiefly titles (Doutreloux 1967:181) and as the name of the important Mbenza clan. A ceremonial knife (*sengele kya Mbenza*, 19.483), spear (LKIII:fig.24, L.460) and axe (19.1.466) presumably belong to the chiefly aspect of Mbenza. Laman did not make much use of the extensive and detailed texts by Lutete of Lolo that deal with such chiefships in Mayombe; they await adequate translation and comment in some other context.

Kimbenza is also the name of a class of minkisi, many of them of small importance.

Lutete describes Mbenza as a large-scale community cult devoted to "opening the womb for a rich progeny" (cahier 225; LKIII:129); as such it was oriented towards benevolent local spirits (*bisimbi*), commonly thought of as embodied in curious stones, large rocks and strange outcrops of the land. Laman apparently took a personal interest in the cult. He mentions that when Mbenza is composed it is necessary to have one or two simbi-stone sculptures, a man and wife, but that they are very rare; "those I have collected," he says (LKIII:130), "are of reddish, loose sandstone." The Museum's collection includes several such stones: 54.1.2569 is a woman; L.545, from Kiobo, is a man, together with his dog, 54.2574 (LKIII,



19.1.483. Ceremonial knife, nkisi Mbenza, 14.8 x 1.9 cm. Vungu.

19.1.466. Ceremonial axe, nkisi Mbenza, 25 x 12.5 cm. Vungu.

plate 2). 54.2641 is obviously male, but 54.2575, 54.2570 and 54.2571 are more ambiguous.

Two other stones, from Lolo, wrapped in strips of fiber, are different again; 54.2620 is described by Laman himself, in his catalogue, as a Nlambi of Mbenza, the other (54.2626) as a "reddish, loose stone (*mbuma*) regarded as a resting place of *basimbi*." Bittremieux (1936:140-50) describes Mbenza rituals, including the one in which a Mbenza stone is "discovered."

On such stones, the places where they are found, and the legends associated with them, Laman's principal informant is Lutete (cahiers 223-25), the original author of most of the chapter on *basimbi* (LKIII:37-43). The chapter ends with part of Lutete's description of a Mbenza cult, from which we also discover the significance of other items in the collection: worn-out hoe blades, painted with stripes of red and white (54.1.2603, 54.1.2602). In the course of the ritual, one of these is revealed to the people as an embodiment of a *simbi* (LKIII:43). A hoe, as opposed to a knife or gun, is a symbol of femininity and fertility. Some of the remainder of Lutete's description is found on LKIII:129-30.

Besides all these things, Mbenza included a necklace (19.1.1254) of fertility-promising objects; a coarse bundle (19.1.1101), tied in a curiously twisted fashion; and a larger bundle (19.1.1358), of whose contents a drawing is available (LKIII:fig.23). The unidentified *nkisi* L.593, of whose contents we also have a drawing (LKIII:fig.21), may be another example of Mbenza.

In LKM, Lutete's text is transcribed beginning on p.1375, in the section on *basimbi*. In the section on *minkisi*, there is only a single paragraph on Mbenza, written by Lutangu of Kimpunga (a station between Lolo and Diadia; cahier 211).

The verb *sema*

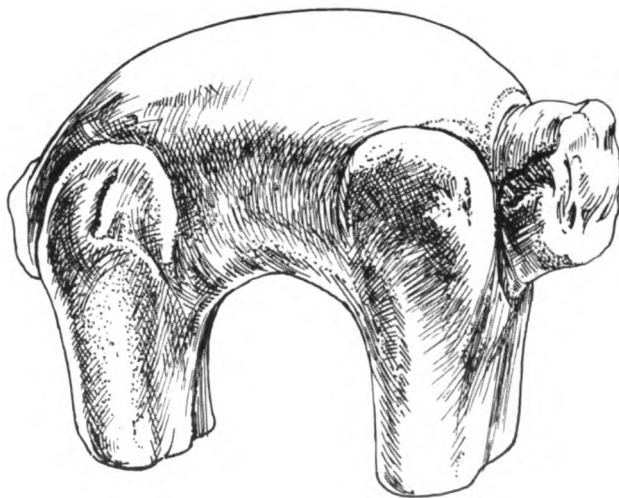
One of the interesting features of these texts is the difficult and controversial concept, *sema*. Mbenza, Lutangu makes clear, is a begetters' cult (Douglas 1963:209), to which only those who have fathered a child are admitted. Such men must be *semuka* by being put into contact with the local spirits and marked with red and white; after his return to the village the initiate may eat animals previously forbidden to him. The rite is called *lusemo* (Doutreloux 1967:220).



1954.1.2569. Stone cult figure, female, 'wife of Mbenza.' Mayombe.



1954.1.2570. Stone cult figure, male,
'Chief Mberza.' 13.1 x 15.9 x 6.2 cm.
Kiobo.

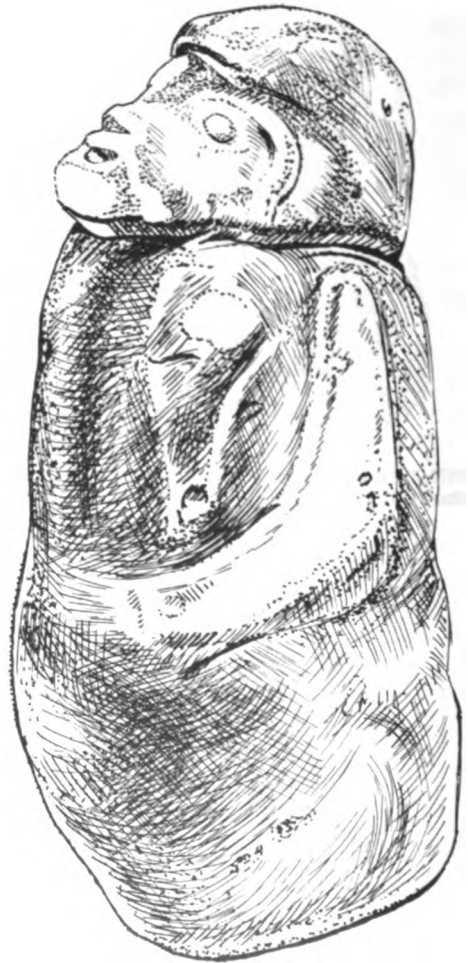


1954.1.2574. Stone cult figure,
'Mberza's dog. Kiobo.

In his translation of the first verse of the Bible, Laman chose the verb *sema* to mean "create:" *Nzambi wasema zulu ye ntoto*, "God created heaven and earth." In the mission bulletin *Minsamu Miayenge* (1910:120), Kavuna questioned this translation as follows. "It is not good to speak this way when we are teaching people, because when the banganga use the word *sema* they mean to sacralize something (*sa lekwa kianlongo*) or bless it; for example, a gun [death-dealing] when it has been spoiled (*sumbukidi*) by [contact with] a chicken or a woman [symbols of life-giving]. The nganga must then *sema* the gun with medicines he takes from his nkisi-bag: *nkandikila, tondo, kala zima, nsaku-saku*. From which people will conclude that heaven and earth were spoiled, and God had to sacralize them." Laman, in his reply (1911:3), defended his translation on the ground that in other parts of Kongo the word could mean "to create."

The issue is complicated rather than clarified by related entries in LKD. *Semuka* means "to be productive for the first time; to be the first born." *Mbenzi* is a name given to an animal that has given birth for the first time, and *Masemuka* is a name given to the first-born (LKII:15). All that is clear, but *nsemi* (pl. *ba-*) means a profane, uninitiated person, one who has *not* produced a child (LKD:762). *N'semi*, in the texts that follow, refers to a consecrator, one who seeks out *bisimbi* to put the begetter in touch with them. These two words are not distinguished in the ordinary orthography of KiKongo. What Lutete's text indicates is that begetting a child was a sort of "affliction," as that term has been used by V.W. Turner (1968), evidence of a kind of summons by Mbenza to be initiated to the cult of this spirit. Fathers are considered to be in dangerous proximity to the "spears" and "stones" of Mbenza, which though they are symbols of virility are also sources of painful disease.

Parenthetical insertions in Lutete's text, below, are from Laman's manuscript notes.



1954.1.2571. Stone cult figure, male, nkisi Mbenza, 21.5 cm."

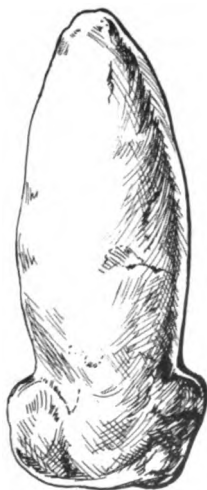
Lutangu, cahier 211; Lolo

Mbenza i nkisi usemukinanga babakala, wonso wonso umeni buta mwana wayandi kibeni mu nkento andi. Umeni semuka mu wau weka nlongo mya mpila yayi, nsusu ngungu yeka ye mintu mya bulu bya vata, zingulu ye zinkombo ye ntulu ye dongo byau ye ntu ye dongo bya bulu bya byodya bya tiiti byeka ngungu ka balendi byo dia sanga ye bansemi ko. Wau ubeedisilanga mu ntulu sanga-sanga ye mbidi a kovula, se kovolo ka kilendi sunduka mu nkovodolo. Kovo-kovo ye mpumununu ka yilendi kuluka bonso nkwa mavimpi.

Nuni zazo ngungu. Ziku di biyokolo vo vubudila dina lembwa lembwa nlangu mboki bansemi si badyo diila ye bilekwa bilambulu kinzu ye malonga, zinto, mbeelee bidilulu byo sukula mu nlangu.

Lutete, cahier 225, LKM:1375

Nkisi wowo ubelwanga mu yela kwa ntulu, ye mu ntu tatika ntangu zazonsono, kansi nsi nsi ye simbi biau, vo bantu bana kondwa bisimbi bana vwezwa kwa bantu; kuna ndambu ndambu a nsi bakulu basema biau bisimbi, kansi nsemi a bisimbi i nganga Mbenza una tutuka yo, ye ndioyo zimunini tutuka una kuenda solula ye sola vuma kia nsisi kilembolo kuenda muntu wankaka.

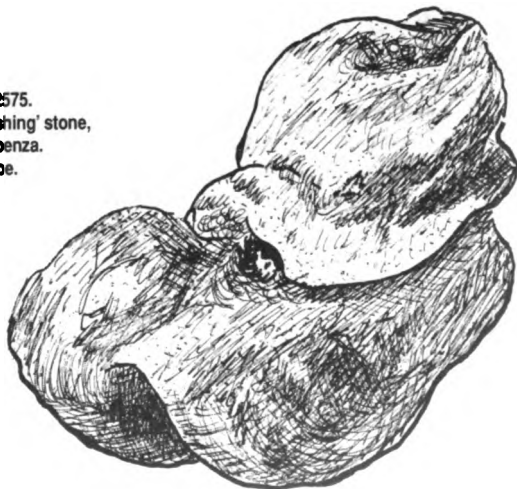


1954.1.2641. Stone sculpture, phallic form, for nkisi Mbenza; 77.8 cm. Mayombe.

Mbenza is a nkisi for blessing a man who has engendered a child by his own wife. Whoever has been thus blessed becomes subject to these taboos: chicken is forbidden and the heads of domestic animals, pigs and goats, also their chest and flanks and those of hoofed herbivores may not be eaten in company with non-initiates. The nkisi afflicts [violators] with chest congestion and severe coughing which cannot be relieved by clearing the throat, as is usual in healthy people.

All birds are forbidden. The hearth must be cooled in water before the initiates may eat the food cooked on it; cooking utensils, pots and dishes, spoons and knives used for eating, are washed in water.

This nkisi causes a disease of the chest and constant headache. Every place has its own simbi, and people without one are mocked by others. In different parts of the country the elders consecrated their own *bisimbi*; the priest of the *bisimbi* who is possessed by them is the *nganga* of Mbenza. When possessed he goes to find a place of danger, where no-one else has been.



1954.1.2575.
'Astonishing' stone,
nkisi Mbenza.
Mayombe.

Kansi yandi nsemi a bisimbi [tomba mu konga] una kuendila kulu kumosi kuna nenga mavoko ku mfinda. Buna ndungu yina landa va nima ye bangudi zanganga zanka ye bankaka bateka semuka. Bu bana lwaka lukufi ye mvokolo, vo ku tofi (ku nto), buna babo bana sala ntama, bana dimba ndiena Nganga una bakula bisimbi, tuka ku vata yandi una sema [konga] bisimbi, kalendi bula mbembo ko nate ba mana wa nding'andi buna meni bakula bisimbi, nding'andi i yayi kana yolukila kuna Cie, cie, cie. Hi Hi Hi Hi ruizi [lwiza] cungama [sungama] uema [kuena] ruizi dwengama [nsualu] duenga wima [nsualu bwabu].

Bu bawilu bobo, bankaka ye bangudi zanganga bana kuenda kuna ku kele solula simbi. Kansi tuka ku vata una teka zaya nki bana nata ku mfinda kibana kuenda semina bisimbi, lekwa kina tuka yau ku vata kakina zayakana kwa bantu nkutu ko, nate ye bana kuenda kio zaila kuna i kuluba kia nsengo kwandi. Buna ndungu yina sikwa beni ye zingoma ye ngongi buna bana yimbila nkunga wau mu nzitusu.

E yaya yalumoni [simbi]
 Kamoni nsemi mama.
 E nganga Mpanzu
 makidi mole, e, e
 O o o yalumoni, yalumoni
 Kamoni nsemi mama
 E nganga Mbenza Nalengudi
 [nakambi] wo

Yaya wo e, e, e
 O yaya wo, o yaya wo.
 Ngiele ku Mfwandubula
 Tumonane mama,
 Nganga Mbenza tumonan'e
 E e, o o makidi mole...

[Song continues at length]

The priest of the *bisimbi* hops on one leg to a hidden thicket in the forest. He is followed by the drummer, other banganga and others who have already been initiated. When they come near to the grove, or a spring, they all hang back, listening for the nganga who is seeking out the spirits. He keeps silence all the way from the village. When they hear his voice they know he has found bisimbi. He cries out like this: "*Cie! cie! cie! Hi-hi-hi!*" [His distorted language indicates that he is possessed:] Come right here, quickly!"

When they hear this, some of the senior banganga go to where he has found a *simbi*. But of course they knew from the moment they left the village what they had to take with them for the ritual, although other people do not know until it is revealed to them in the forest that it is an old, worn hoe-blade. Then the *ndungu*-drum sounds vigorously, the *ngoma* and the *ngongi*-bell, and they respectfully sing this song:

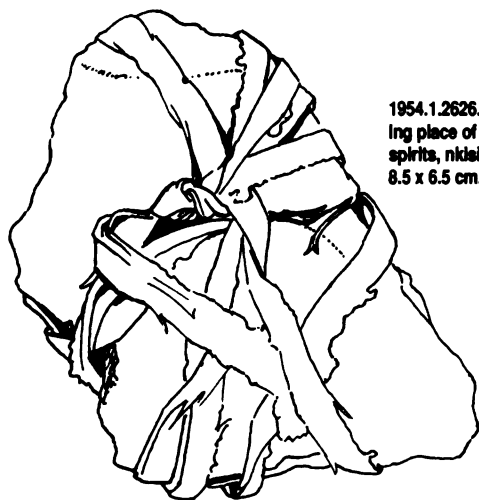
The *simbi*, the vision,
 The priest has seen it.
 Oh the nganga of Mpanzu,
 There were two of them.
 The vision of the *simbi*,
 The priest saw it,
 The nganga of Mbenza declared it.

I went eagerly searching,
 We saw each other;
 We saw nganga Mbenza.
 Oh! there were two together.

Buna mfinda yoyo zinuni zeka napii mu diambu dia kweka semwa bisimbi. Kimena-mena [ntandulu a mvila] kiamena mpangu [mpangulu] ye nlongo kiasikila ntangu zazonsono ki ka kinikunwa kwa muntu. Wadumuka [Simbi], mfumu a nsi yidumukini yaku, wasikila zimfumu mpe zisikidi yaku ye duma diaku mu mvu ku mvu. E bayaya, ngweno bana kwiza kwaku mu funguna kwizila mu mbangu, vutuka yandi kibeni, kwenda miolo miolo, masadi-masadi. Ketu kinzenze, keti kimpasi.

Matadi una [Simbi] kuntula mu nitu, katula mo, zimpele lembula mu ntulu, lengumuna. Bindende ndekete biaku mwene Mangundazi [Simbi]. Wila beto tubantu baku kani biza semuka mu mbutulu a bana. Vengumuna bansinga-nsinga singa mu nzila kyonso kiatele kia dimbu zibula mavitu mwene, biza miolo-miolo, masadi-masadi bavutuka kuna bwala Volo kia Mpungu, Ngovo Mpungu.

Mwana kabuta wo ko, zibika mavitu [banganga ka bana mona nzila ko]. Wandu beni kabuta kakula mavitu, mwene Mangundazi, zibula mu mpwalungu-mpwalungu [nswalu], kakunda kinkento kakunda kingezi. Wanikina nsamba ya Mputu, nwikina mu mbungu aku yizi kutudila nsemi, yau si yatukila tuku dia ntangumuna a mvila. Mbungu yafila basema, yabika bakulu a nza [batekila] ye banunu. Pangu kasumuka nlongo wizi yo nwina, lembula mu ntulu, wakadila [kaala] vumunu kiandi, wavukisa moyo andi, wafunguna mamonsono, uwila bu kizidi ku kunda. Watapwa [kusa ye nkisi mfusa] mu bila [futu] ku bwala, nge mwene Makundazi (sic). Lubundana, lukala kintwadi mu nyakisa, lembula mwene.



1954.1.2626. Stone resting place of *simbi* spirits, nkisi Mbenza; 8.5 x 6.5 cm. Lolo.

Then in the forest all the birds keep silence because of the chant reciting the praise-name of the *bisimbi*: "The little seed that was created and will remain sacred for ever, that no man can displace. Who leapt up, who raised up the chief of this land; the fortified, who fortified the chiefs to your glory for ever. Sirs, your own comes here to confess, to declare; may he return by himself. Go in peace, disperse all of you. Like the grasshopper, like the cricket.

"This stone you have put in his body, remove it; the disease of his chest, anoint it, relieve it. The young people are yours, Great One. Harken, we your people have been initiated in the birth of children. Set far from us all witches. Open the doors, sir. May they come in peace, return quietly to the village. Volo kya Mpungu, Ngovo Mpungu [minkisi].

"If he has not had a child, open the way (the banganga can not see the way). For him who has a child, unbar the door, Great One." [Etc.]



1954.1.2620. Stone resting place of *simbi* spirits, nkisi Mbenza; 7.5 x 7.2 cm. Lolo.

Buna bana kukikusa ndimba ye mpezo, ntoto wakukwa bana sonasana nitu ya mvimba. Bau banganga bana sonasana mawongo mu meso. Bu bana sona mpezo bisimbi, buna bana yimbila nkunga wankaka diaka. Nkunga wau una yimbulwa beni beni, kadi yandi nsemi a bisimbi una mana sona mpe monso muna sola yandi nsemi. Buna ngudi a nganga una tatamana yimbila nkunga ye babo bana wo yimbila.

O mavundu mu
Meeso ma ndubukila [ndwenga].
Ngondo yo bakila
Mpembe u yaya.
O yaya, ngondo ame
Bakila mpembe,
O yaya, e wele ngondo yo
Bakila mpembe, e yaya (etc.)

Bu basukisi sona, buna nkunga mpe usukidi kwandi. Buna babo bana vutuka ku bwala, nga kani zole zateka tuntuka ye yandi zimunini tuntuka. Bana toma kina mu ntoko ye nganga una vwata nsanga andi ye budu ye sala kia nkusu bana somika va ndunzi. Bu batukidi ku mfinda, buna yimbila nkunga myami:

O nganga Mbenza,
makidi mole, mama
E nganga Mbenza
balengole [vovele] wo,
mama.[etc.]



1954.1.2603. Two cult hoe blades, worn out, painted in red and white, nkisi Mbenza. Mayombe.

Then they paint themselves with red and white clays, rubbing anthill earth all over each other's bodies. The banganga mark rings around each other's eyes. They mark the *bisimbi* with white, and sing another song. The following song is much sung, for the one who has invoked the *bisimbi* to be appropriately painted; the chief nganga leads and they all sing:

"Oh, lines around the eyes,
the eyes of understanding.

White it is,
They mark with chalk..."

When they have finished painting themselves the song ends, and everybody returns to the village, with two who have already been possessed and one who is newly so. They dance beautifully, and the nganga wears his necklace and his hat with a red parrot feather fixed above his forehead. On their return from the forest they sing these songs:

Oh, nganga Mbenza,
there were two
Nganga of Mbenza,
they have spoken it.



1954.1.2602. Cult hoe blade, worn out, painted in red and white, nkisi Mbenza. Mayombe.

19.1.1101. Medicine bundle for nkisi Mbenza, 24 cm. Lolo.



19.1.1254. Necklace for the nganga of nkisi Mbenza. Lolo.



19.1.1358. Medicine bundle for nkisi Mbenza. Lolo.



Mu lumbu lolo luyimbulwanga, buna babingi bakutakene ku bwala. Buna zinganga zeti kina mu ntoko beni, ndungu buna yeti sikwa mpe, bau banganga buna bimpambu mpe bavweti. Buna nganga una vova mambu mama, Ngeye [Simbi] wantuba dionga mu ntulu, diata kadiata. Matadi katuba, katula matadi maku, mwene. Lelumuna [sadisa] ntulu. Bu keti sakama ye kukembila, lemvukila kindende ndekete kiaku. Sika nkwanu kyaku [simbi]. Nge kwandi wansombula [bela], ukuntulanga nkomina mu ntulu, lembula mwene.

Kansi diambu diankaka diena. Mu lumbu kia ntete kina badukwa tulwa yandi tomi [nganga yamona] ku lusaba. Mu lumbu lwa ntete vo kana tuntuka ko ye bana bwela diaka lwa nzole, vo kana tuntuka ko, buna ka yandi ko wambela. Buna una kunsonga nki a nkisi ukumbedisanga. Buna mu kia nsuka nganga una songa wonso nkisi, vo Nkita Nsumbu, vo Mambukwa mongo, vo Mawaza, vo mfumu Kongo, vo wonso nkisi wabela sikasamuna. Kansi vo yandi Mbenza wambela lolo lumbu kwandi lwa ntete, buna ntumbu zangala [tuntuka] kwandi. Buna nganga una dia mbati ye kala ye kuwa tanzi va koko. Yandi tomi bu keti tuntuka, buna ngudi a nganga weti kunsonga kuma diodio ye una kwenda bongingi tamba-tamba mu mafula ye mu mbazi za nzo.

Nganga Mbenza bu kena ku lusaba, bu kana banguka Mbenza una vwika vampuka [pamuka] va nsi ye kwenda telama vana ntandu a ndungu, i vana kana sonunwa. Ye bu kana dia mayaka ma nkunzu [ye nguba ye minkandi] kaka ye bana dia mu ngolo ye ngolo kaka. Nkumbu yitukanga yandi ku tulu twa mfwilu, nkumbu zi basekukanga, i zina zena mu nkisi a Nkimba.

Bakalanga mu lumbu kia nkulumunu, buna mu lumbu biazimunina bana vonda bulu biabi: ngumba ye nsibizi. Mbosi mbizi za mpila mu mpila zina dia babingi. Mu lumbu kina ka balendi dia madia makambwa mbizi ko, nkembo waunene una kala mu lumbu kina ye zinganga bana kina beni mu ntoko ye minkunga mina yimbulwa beni. Ye nganga zina za mona zina diwa byuvu bia mpila mu mpila ye bana solula bilongo biswekolo kwa ngudi za nganga. Buna bankaka bana visa vo nkisi watudidi mu yandi.

In the enclosure where they are singing many villagers have gathered. The priests dance very well, the ndungu drum sounds and the priests wear their rattles. Then the nganga says these words: "You [the *simbi*] drove a spear [of Mbenza] into his body, with great force. The stones he threw, remove your stones, sir. Comfort his body. When he dances and praises you, look kindly upon your child. Sound your bracelets. You who afflicted him, put a pain in his body, assuage him.

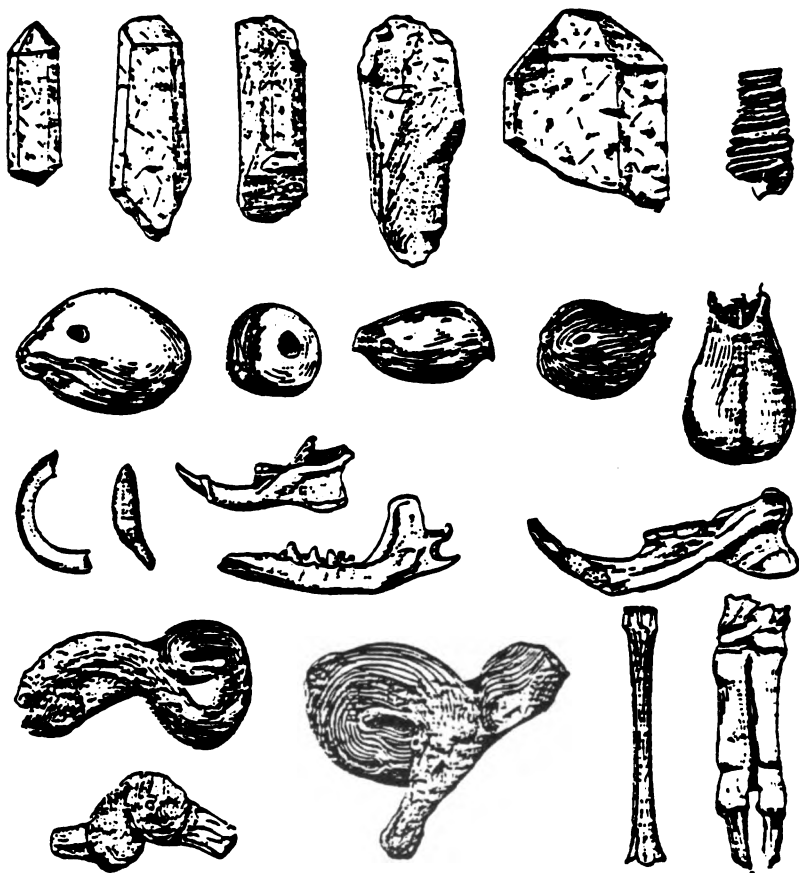
There is another matter. On the first day, when they first put the new nganga (called *tomu*) into the enclosure [for making the nkisi], if he fails to tremble and on the second attempt still cannot do it, it is not Mbenza who has caused him to fail. So then they have to show which nkisi is responsible. The next morning the nganga will show which nkisi, such as Nkita Nsumbu, Mambukwa mongo, Mawaza, Na Kongo or another. If it was Mbenza himself who caused the failure in the original enclosure, he will tremble. Then the nganga hikes up his loincloth and strikes [the novice] on the arm with a machete; the novice begins to tremble. The nganga shows him how to do it, and picks up the dirt of footprints [as one does for a child when it is first brought out of the house] from the crossroads and around the houses.

When the [novice] nganga of Mbenza is in the enclosure and opens the nkisi, he makes a great jump from the ground and stands upon the *ndungu*-drum, where he will be painted. At this time he eats only raw manioc (and peanuts and palmnuts), which he eats violently. He takes a Nkimba name revealed to him in his sleep.

On the days after they leave the enclosure they kill these animals: a porcupine and a cane-cutter. They eat meat of many kinds. At this time they may not eat food without meat. There is a great feast, all the priests dance and there is much singing. The new banganga are asked all kinds of questions, and show secret medicines to their instructors. Then people know that the nkisi is in them.

Minsiku. Bantu balemmbwa semuka, kani bakento vo babakala, ka balendi kota kuna ko. Bakento ka balendi tumba [tadisa] matakku ku ndambu yina yena bisimbi ko, kadi yandi lenda kubatuba matadi ye vo i dionga diadi di katubanga mu ntulu.

Prohibitions. Those who have not been initiated, whether male or female, may not enter [the place where the *simbi* shrine is]. Women may not point their backsides in the direction of the simbi lest he throw his rocks or his spears at them.



19.1.1358 for nkai Mbenza, including twisted objects and quartz crystals.Lolo..

Mbumba (Kingoyi)

The documentation for this example of Mbumba from Kingoyi is excellent. Besides a fairly long account by Kionga of Kingoyi (Cahier 97) we have a detailed description by Laman from his own examination of the nkisi. Many of the objects contained in the nkisi have labels attached to them, written in KiKongo in Laman's hand; for example, "8. *kielo kya nkaka* [pangolin scale]." This inventory is repeated in LKM:889; it is longer than Kionga's, as the table below shows. Laman's synthetic account in English (LKIII:100-102), though based on Kionga's, also shows signs of personal acquaintance with the ritual.

Laman says that Mbumba, as a very old and powerful nkisi, was used for many different purposes; accordingly, the contents are many and various. *Mbumba* means "bad breath." The nkisi treats stomach disorders, all kinds of swellings, and hence can also produce pregnancy and keep off witches. Laman's list of ingredients is much longer (more than 84 items) than Kionga's, but the two are similar. Mbumba contains, as Laman says, 1) ordinary medicines; 2) stones representing tumours, and miscellaneous objects representing all kinds of biting and stinging pains. "There is also a needle for the shrouding of corpses." In the combined list of ingredients, below, items mentioned by Kionga in his description of how the nkisi is used are marked by asterisks.

To the outside of the bag are attached two small sea-shells and a double bell (*kunda*, see below). (A similar *kunda* is part of a Mbumba in the Hammar collection in Goteborg; the nkisi is probably from the same area and apparently treats the same diseases, but it has the form of a necklace rather than a bag. Hammar's note says that the patient would be given water to drink from the bell.) Of the goat's testicle which is one of the ingredients, Laman says (LKM:890) that it has no function except perhaps to preserve sacredness. Some of the taboos oblige the patient to avoid edible fruits that represent swelling. Scraps from the forge included in the nkisi probably represent "puffing" that "inflates" the patient.

19.1.588. Medicine bundle for nkisi Mbumba, with *kunda* bell attached; diameter about 36 cm. Kingoyi.



Laman mentions four functions of Mbumba (LKM:891-92):

- 1) healing, performed as by nkisi Bunzi dya Nsemukina.
- 2) procuring pregnancy, done as by nkisi Mutinu.
- 3) protecting property or trees against theft.
- 4) use of the *kunda*-bell to invoke the protection of the nkisi (*loka kikunda kya Mbumba*). (The name of the bell, *kunda*, is also a verb meaning to implore or invoke.)

Kionga**Laman****English***1) ordinary medicines.*

kiko kya nkuni	kintyaba nkuni	lictor bagworm
kizinga	kizinga	spiriform shell
lusaku-saku	lusaku-saku	papyrus
	kala zima	charcoal
luyala	luyala	tree fruit
	luzibu	seed
	kidiba	mushroom
mpemba*	mpemba ya nkulu	white clay
musoni*	musoni	yellow ochre
	tukula	red camwood
	ndimba	red clay
mudingi*	nsengele ya mudingi	lump of resin
ngongo Nzadi	ngongo Nzadi zazingi	Calabar beans
nkandikila	nkandikila	nut
Kionga	Laman	English
nkiduku		nut
nungu za nzo	nungu za nzo	domestic pepper
tondo*	tondo	mushroom
muzaazu	muzaazu	cocoon

2) other medicines.

nsiba a nkala	dino dya nkala dya fumbwa	curved crab claw
kifulangi	lufulangi	tree
	kunu	?seed
	toolo kya ngola mamba	fish fin
bikumbi	bikumbi	rattles
	mfumbi	albino hair
	nkulu-vusu	a certain wood
	kikuku	piece of anthill
	mulondo	
	nsakala	?rattle
	tadi dya lubwela lwa ndombe	black bead
	zobo kya nuni	bird's beak
	meeno mamake ma bulu	small animal teeth
	luzala lwa nuni yayinene	feather of large bird

Kionga	Laman	English
looko	ntalani	button
	simba dya ngembo	palm mushroom
kanda dya mbambi	lizard skin,	bat claw
	nsakala ya yike	with claws
mbanga	mbanga za masombo	small rattle
	kivoloto kya nseke	palm nuts
	mwanzi a mutumbi*	piece of a bush
lubanga lwa nsimba	twinned	root
kinkoki	vine	palmnuts
	myanzi mya nti	tree roots
	baluta kiatadi	piece of forge
	nsongo	copper
	kongo dya nsongo	copper slag
nongo yazingulwanga	buku kya maboka	?red bead
	shrouding	needle
	nyombo	
	kata dya nkombo	goat's testicle
	luzolo lwa nkento	
	bikodya-kodya	little shells
mavungu ma nkombo	mpoko ya nkombo	goat's horn
munkanga	minkanga	tuber
bisimani	kisimani	creeper with
		red beans
mafuku		cotton
mingidi mya mbidi	mbidi	mbidi nuts
	tadi dya buta	flint
mwingidi wa mweba	mweba	mango kernel
	diinu dya ngulu a vata	tooth of
		domestic pig
nkanda a nkuti	nlanda nkuti (sic)	antelope skin
	matadi mamingi	many stones;
		one with
	dimosi dyazokulwa vulu	a hole in it,
	dimosi dyavindumuka	one round one
	mabesama (nsindu)*	grinding stones
	mamake	gravel
	mankaka	others
	kidyangidi	nsafu kernel
matadi ma nlangu		stones from
		water
nsamba nguba	nguba	peas, peanuts

Kionga	Laman	English
mingidi mya manga mbwela teki besi bya nkandi	mwingidi a manga mbwela za binsukulu	manga nut red beads figurine
ntete nsuudya fulu bya mazombe	ntu a nuni nteete fulu bya mukombe-kombe diisu dya nkama diinu dya nsibizi	bird's head squash seed creeper maize cane-cutter teeth
meeno ma nsibizi	nsuku a luuvu	blowpipe from forge plant
lwangu mwa mbizi mwa kodya	lwangu buku bya nkanda bulu skin mubindu	little shell bits of animal bead
kisu	su kyanwina nsunga kongi dya nkandi nsafi yabuta lukabu	tobacco pipe lusonso lwa buta pin from a gun
byelo byankaka*	kibisi (kya nzau?) kyelo kya nkaka kondo dya mputu tandi kya nkombo buku kya nkasa ntu a nyoka 2, 3 mbeelee zakedi ku nsi a ntoto "and many other, unknown things."	bone (elephant?) pangolin scale "European" banana goat's tooth piece of nkasa bark 2 or 3 snakes' heads knives that have been buried

Wena nkumbu Mbumba mu dyambu dya muntu vo beki mooyo mvundani, buna bu kana byoka kibyoko kyena nsudi ya mbi, buna balenda bika vo kibyoko kya mfuku a bumba kyena yandi. Vwilu mu kanda dya mamba.

Tuuku kya Mbumba i lunsoko-nsoko mbo watuuka ku Dungu ye mbo ni wavandwa. Nitu ya Mbumba i salu, mbo salu dituulwanga mu mpidi....

Fulu kyandi mu nzo, kansi ka nzo ya yandi hiika ko, kansi lenda kala mu nzo yena bantu. Umanukwanga ku yulu tanda.

Bonso kavandulwa. Va ntete baala ba nganga bana vanda bana kwiza mu vaana nsompi kwa bangudi za nganga. Buna bangudi za nganga bana sa bonso ena: Miswa:- Kaaka. Bidi bya bankimba, bidi bya banganga. Miswa:- Kaaka. Malavu ma bankimba, malavu ma banganga. Miswa:- Kaaka. Nsusu ya bankimba, nsusu ya banganga. Mbo baala ba nganga bana vutula: Miswa:- Kaaka. Bi neto. Dyaka bangudi za nganga vo: Miswa:- Kaaka. Bonga watwala. Mbo bana twala madia ye malavu ye tuula kwa banganga. Mbo bu mana dia ye nwa, si batona mu kila mpemba kwa baala ba nganga.

Bantu bankaka balenda nata ngoma mu kembila mikisi, kadi fu kyokyo kyakala vo beti vanda mukisi wamunene, buna bafweti kina mpe.

Buna bana bakila mamoni bana sa bonso ebu: Nsanya ye ngoma bana kumanga mpaka, kambi watwa, kambi waluula. Untwila keti mbeezi. Mbo yimbila nkunga bonso ebu: Tombuka, yeka mpaki, Mbumbe-e-e-e. Tombuka, yeka mpake, Mbumbe-e-e.

Mu fuku ka balendi vanda ko vo vandisa ko, kansi mu diila nkyelo kaka. Mu nsuuka bana tona. Bana tomba lubongo ye mpidi, mbo bana tuula bilongo va lubongo. Mbo bana kubika lusaba. Tuula minti mintatu mya mbota, mbo bana yimbila nkunga bonso ena: E-e-e ya banunu, lolo batunga mfunya hamvu. E yaa banunu, lolo batunga mfunya hamvu. Buna bana baka mandala mbwandi ye misoko mya maba ye kwiza kanga makolo.

It is called Mbumba because if anyone should have a stomach disorder and belch foul odours it may be said of him that he has bad breath (*bumba*). It belongs to the water class.

It is derived from the otter, and came from Dungu, where it was constituted. Its body is a bag that is put in a mpidi basket... [List of medicines follows.] Its place is in the house, not its own but an ordinary dwelling. It is hung up on a shelf.

Composition. First, the apprentices present to the masters of the cult their fee.

Then the masters recite as follows:

"Miswa? Kaaka! A drop for the layman, a drop for the priest. Miswa? Kaaka! Palmwine for the layman, wine for the priest. Miswa? Kaaka! Chicken for the layman, chicken for the priest. Then the apprentices reply: Miswa:- Kaaka." The things are brought, and the masters repeat: "Miswa? Kaaka! Set them out." So food and drink are set before them. After eating and drinking, they mark the apprentices with lines of chalk.

Other people bring ngoma-drums to celebrate the nkisi, because it was the custom, when they were composing a major nkisi, to dance as well.

As the white lines are drawn around the eyes they recite:

...[Reference to a story about Ngoma, founder of this nkisi]. Then they sing this: "Rise up, take your reward, Mbumba eh!"

The nkisi may not be prepared during the night but only by day. They begin in the morning. They find a raffia cloth and a *mpidi* basket, then put medicines in the cloth. They prepare the enclosure, placing three posts of ironwood and singing as follows: "Eh, the elders, they built with leaves..."

Then they take young palmshoots and leaves and make knots with them [around the shelter].

Mbo bu bamana teba bilongo bi bana sa va mukisi, bana baka nsusu ye zenga yo mutu, kidi bana lamba va mukisi ye bodisa mu nitu zau. Mbo bana kwenda ku mamba. Kuna bana nata mpe madia ye malavu, ye kuna bana songwa binkonko, i kanza ye lunsoko-nsoko, mbo teelwa milongo. Lendo kya Mbumba kyena mu sa miyima mya bantu navela-vela, kidi vo bana kwe vubu ku vata di bavendi Mbumba ye mu nyakisa bantu mu beela. Bonso kibanga mooyo vo wena nakekete. Buna vo muntu kibanga si balanda nganga Mbumba, kidi vo una kwiza mudyata. Buna nganga una kwenda kwena mbevo. Si babaka kyavulu, lambidika mbevo ye bonga zia za mpusu, ku nsi zole, ku yulu zole. Mbo una baka nti ye tangumuna: Mpoto na nkumbu andi, kalembu nkumbu kimbimbi kya musitu, twamubukila mpolo, twamubukile ndembo, kifulamani kyafwa mbombo, kyafwa makutu. Kansi vo kalendi kula nyaka ko, buna nganga fwiti manisa mubuku.

Una tota bilongo: mwanzi mutumbi* ye wa mulolo, na wa mungaka ye biwanzi. Mbo si katedika minti myomyo ye kunnwika. Mbo bana bonga nkwalu yina vwanda nganga ye yina vwanda ubevo. Bu keti kangula nkisi, una vova: nyangu-nyangu, wanyanguna mifunu myaku na mivaku myakwe. Mbo una baka musoni* ye kila mu nsingu za mooko nate ye una tundumuna mu maalu ye mooyo ye nima. Mbo una simba nsindu* na kyelo* ye tondo* na mudingi* ye sa byo va mutima a mbevo ye tangumuna bonso ena: Dekele, dekele. Wudi mbumba ku bakento, wudi mbumba ku babakala mpandi. Ku muse mvundani ko, ku muse kitatika ko. Wadi yo Ngoma wampa mumpati, wampa bunganga. Yandi wafwa kwandi, kansi kya mutu kikwe mpeeka ndozi. Meno mpati aku, meno nganga aku. Nge kwe mulotoso bafwa, nge kwe mulotoso bamoooyo, kubuka nabuka, kakuloka kwe. E Mbumba yambula mfumu anga kibila ku Musanda ngeye. Wavonda nganga, wasala na na nani e. Wadyengila va zala nganga, wabaka nki e. Nuuka, nuuka yandi, wunuukuta, nge kumunuukuti ko e.

Mbo bana baka malaa ma nsamba ye mungwa, kidi kasa mu miti mya ntedikila. Nlongo kwa ndyena wabukwa i myami: Ka luna vaana mungaka kwa yandi, kidi kadia ko, biwanzi, musoso, mbo bidiwu bilambulu musabi-nsabi kana dia ko ye misengo na mayaka matombolo bubu na biwati.

When they have prepared the medicines they will use in the nkisi they take a chicken and cut off its head to lay it on the nkisi and to rub on their bodies. Then they go to the water, taking with them food and palmwine. There they will be shown their familiars, the *kanza* snake and the otter, and be told the rules. The power of Mbumba is to make people eager to go to the village where he has been set up to invoke him and heal people, for example of a hard swelling in the belly. The sick person will seek out the nganga of Mbumba to come and walk on him. They take a door, lay it on the invalid, with four raffia cloths (two underneath, two on top). The nganga [walks on the door] holding a stick and reciting:

"Obstinate, he does not know the name of the thing in the forest..."

But if the patient does not get well the nganga must end the treatment.

He collects medicines: roots of mutumbi and *mulolo*, *mungaka* and *wanzi*, which he crushes and gives as a potion to the patient. The patient is sat on the mat of the nganga. While untying his nkisi-bundle the nganga says: "Undo, undo your bundles and all your good things." He takes yellow clay and marks [the patient] from the wrists all the way to his feet, front and back. He then takes a round stone, pangolin scale, mushroom and resin and places them on the patient's chest, saying: "*Dekele, dekele* [the sound of the *kunda* bell]. Mbumba for women, Mbumba for men I invoke. Let him not swell, let him not be in pain. Old Ngoma gave me this mystery; he is dead, but he sends me dreams in my mind. I am your healer, your nganga. Do not dream of the dead, do not dream of the living, be healed, do not be bewitched. Mbumba, release your man... Sniff, sniff, do not smell bad on account of it."

Then they take palmwine and salt to put on the upright posts. The rules for the one who is being cured are these: He may not be given *mungaka* to eat, *wanzi* or *musoso* tomatoes, any food that has been cooked with *nsabi-nsabi*, sugar cane nor manioc that has been brought up that day from soaking.

Nganga bakala vo nkento, nkumbu zau Nsa Madyela ye Kala. Yau batambula nkisi kwa bangudi za nganga, bu bavaana vwa di bavandila wo ye bateelwa nlongo kwa nganga. Mbo nlongo mu nkisi myena mpila mosi ye kwa babukwanga. Kansi nganga bu kazeyi vo wena baana ye mu dia yandi hiika mbo talwa kwa baana buna kyadi. Buna lenda vaana kani zengo dyamfula vo lubongo buna mpila mosi sumbidi milongo. Vo zolele lenda kwandi diila bonso kazolele ye bankaka. Vo nkisi ufwiidi, buna lenda tumisa zinganga mu tombula wo mu dyambu dya longo byakala mu nkisi byamana boola. Nga vo ka bwa ko, buna lenda kala ngolo ntangu zazingi.

The priests, male or female, are called Nsa Madyela and Kala. They receive the nkisi from senior banganga to whom they give the fee for the composition and from whom they hear the rules, which are the same as for healing. If the nganga has children he should not be seen eating by them; if it happens he should be given a measure of gunpowder or a cloth, as it were to purchase the taboos. He may then eat with anyone he likes. If the nkisi dies he may send for the banganga to raise it up again, since the medicines that were in it have decayed. But if that does not happen it may last for a long time.

Mbwanga

Mbwanga is a family of minkisi that includes Mabyala (q.v.; LKIII:158). The object 19.1102 is a small bag of the *mukubulu* type, explained below. It is probably not a complete example of Mbwanga but a separated part of one; that would explain the catalogue annotation "Mw[ana] Mbwanga," or "child of Mbwanga." Mbwanga was used to cure headaches and also, like Kula, to prevent rain.

Available information about Mbwanga is equally fragmentary. Laman's three short paragraphs on the nkisi (LKIII:158) are taken from Lunungu (Nganda; cahier 159), Kionga (Kingoyi; cahier 95) and Makundu (Mukimbungu), respectively. In addition, Laman quotes Lutete extensively on Mabyala, a related nkisi (Lolo; cahier 224). LKM:906 also gives a description, by Laman himself but not used in LKIII, of a Mbwanga, place of origin unspecified, to which the number "150" is assigned; No.151, described as a little bag separated from Mbwanga in order to be used for healing in the manner of *mukubulu*, may be the object 19.1102.

Mbwanga, a sky nkisi, cures headaches and pains in the joints and may be used to prevent rain. Kionga's story of its origin is: "A certain man once said, Here I am, working my fields, and it rains all the time so that I cannot get to work; I have had enough, and my head aches. So he raised his hands to the sky to catch the lightning." An interesting feature of the composition is the rule that it be done in si-



19.1.1102. Medicines for nkisi Mbwanga, in net carrying bag; 42.5 cm. Kinkenge.

lence (*ya mfwofo*), without drumming. Laman says that Mbwanga has in it large amounts of ground-up ochre (*musoni*), pepper, and the medicines from the all-purpose Nkisi a Babonsono (q.v.). In the healing procedure the nganga causes the patient to sniff medicines and then strikes him on the brow, the temples and the back of the head with the *mukubulu*, whose form (a small, hard ball at the end of a long handle) is designed for this purpose.

Musansi A Bitutu

Musansi (19.1081) is from Ludima, the valley between Kingoyi and Kiobo. It is a particularly elaborate nkisi in a visual sense, wearing its powers on its sleeve, so to speak. The leather medicine bag is tied up with a net-bag. The outside is decorated with bead strings, metal rings, a brass bell with clapper, a rattle, two small antelope horns, a feather whisk and much besides.

Laman's English text (LKIII:151-52) combines accounts by Demvo (cahier 289) and Kionga (cahier 95), both from Kingoyi; additional material about a version called Musansi a Biteki ("Musansi with Figurines") comes from cahier 347, by Mvubu of Kiobo. None of the descriptions corresponds in detail to this complex object, though the feather whisk (*mpiya*) of Musansi, which was used for healing, is mentioned: the nganga took medicines from it in the form of a powder with which he marked the body of the patient.

The nkisi treats epilepsy, a disease associated with possession by water-spirits and with the movements of whirlpools.

The shiny wing-cases of the *mbungu mputu* beetle were used in minkisi, before bits of glass became readily available, to represent the dangerous glitter of spirit forces. The scented leaves of the *bwongo* plant were thought to scare off malicious ghosts. The back of a dwelling house was especially associated with female functions.

Musansi wau wena nkumbu Musansi bitutu evo Mpuka. Nkisi wau nkumbu zozo mu diambu dia muntu wena yela koko, kadi kavutulu nkievo mwana weti vutuka yema. Nikuma mpe lenda lwiki kitutu kina kala nandi nkievo mwana nsombe weti yema diaka. Bila kadi yela kulenda mana mu muntu mu diambu dia nkisi wowo. Kitutu kiena nkiati nimomo badukidi yela koko.

Nkisi vo Nsansi wau wena mu kanda dianlangu. Funza bukatala yela koko, buna watotokolo kwamuntu mu nlangu. Ntotokolo yena bonso enana: Mu nlangu mwavaika fulu diadinene diakala diediemukanga, buna watala buna wamona mukuta wakala nave wadiediemukanga nkievo muntu weti mo diediemuna. Mu nkuta wowo mwakala salu dia mbongo diakangwa mu nsinga, buna yandi wayena wo wabadika yitukwa beni ye kadi nki biobio beti monika.

Buna yandi wabonga wo ye wanata wo ku vata, bu kalwaka nawo bayuvula: nki twedi mu nkuta ye ku kedi nkuta wenamave? Buna yandi ti: ku nlangu ngienzi wo bwana ye wata bwabonsono bu kayenina mu nlangu, buna babonsono bata vo: kuna tula nkisi vakati dianzo ko, kansi tula wo ku nima nzo kwaka kweti hiluka bantu ye bavana nkumbu Musansi bitutu evo Mpuka vo wonso una baka yela koko, bu kana bukwa mu Musansi nieki.

Nkisi wau watuka ku Dunga kwa wadi mwe Lukuna. Niyandi wavandisa wo kwa baheka, kidi basala na wo. Nkadulu mu nitu futu. ye futu diodio diatulwa mu nkuta ye mwakitutu kionso kiedinga-dinga kiitulwa bilongo biatebwa mu ngudi. mbo nitula sabuku mbo nitula kio mu mukuta. Bima bina tulwa va salu ni biabi: nsiba zankala, kibudikisa kiambungu ya mputu, makaya mebwongo mazokonio, mbo ngongo nzadi, tondo, nsaku nsaku, kazu, nyala, kala diakala nangwe Nkaka mu diambu dia tebila bilongo. Mboki mpemba yaniku yina keba bilongo va salu. Mu kitutu mwatulwa mwa mpemba mboki nitula bilongo biatebo mu kitutu. Longo biabi biatebwa: tondo, kazu, nsaku nsaku, luyala.

This nkisi is called "Nurse with little gourds," or "Epilepsy." It has these names so that a person who has this disease may get better, or a child may resume suckling. For this the infant may wear a little gourd. On account of this nkisi, the disease would not otherwise end. The gourd is the same as what began the disease.

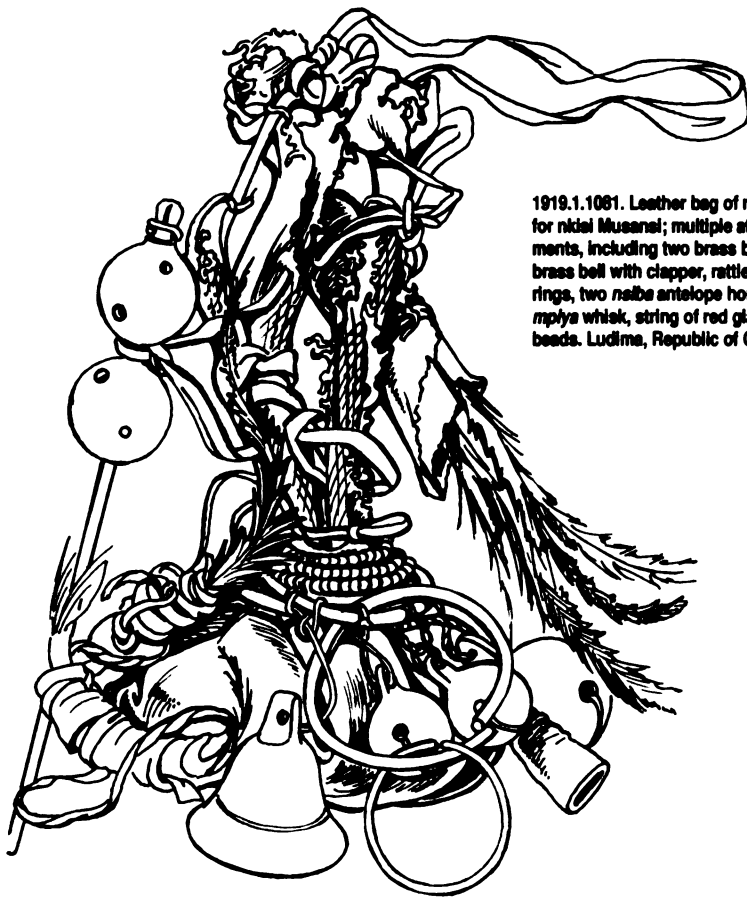
Nkisi Nsansi belongs to the water class. When [the great *simbi* spirit] Funza observed the sickness, he approached a man from the water and appeared as follows: a large patch of foam emerged that whirled round and round. The man looked, and he saw a *mukuta* basket rotating there, as though someone were spinning it. In the basket was a medicine bag of raffia, tied with a string. When the man saw it he was much astonished, not knowing what it was.

Then he picked it up and took it to the village. When he arrived they asked him, "What are you carrying in that basket and why is it all white?" He said, "I found it in the water," and he told them everything he had seen. They all said, "Do not put the nkisi inside the house but put it at the back where people pass by." And they gave it the name Musansi Bitutu, or Mpuka, so that whoever should have that sickness could be treated by Musansi and get better.

This nkisi came from Dunga, from the late Mr Lukuna. He composed it for others so that they could use it. It consists of a *futu* bag which is put in a *nkuta* basket; a little gourd in to which medicines are scraped, for healing, is kept in the basket. The things in the medicine bag are these: crab claws, [shiny] pieces of the mbungu ya mputu beetle, crushed bwongo leaves, Calabar beans, tondo mushroom, *nsaku-nsaku*, kola nut, *luyala* fruits, and the scale of a pangolin, on which to cut the medicines. Ground chalk guards the medicines in the bag. In the gourd chalk is placed, then scrapings of these medicines: *tondo*, *kola*, *lusaku-saku*, *luyala*.

Fulu kiankisi wowo vakalenda manukwa va nima nzo mu baka. Wuna manukunwa mu nsinga walubota una sihu nkiati makodi, mbo nimanika wo. Bonso mu vanda wo yandi ngudi nganga una vana mutumbu malavu kwa bahanda kidi bakala vema mu vanda wo. Yandi beni nganga una teka kila mamoni mboki kakila bala banganga, mbo nikubika lusaba bonso mu nkisi miankaka, mboki nitula tadi ku nsi lusaba dikana nikina mpemba ye tula lekwa bianka bonso minkwisa ye mandala mbwandi ye masisia makibwongo ye lemba lemba ye lemba toko.

The place of this nkisi is that it is hung up on the wall at the back of the house, on a *lubota* cord with knots in it. At its composition the principal nganga gives a calabash of palmwine to those who are to compose it, so that they shall be zealous in the work. He himself first inscribes "vision" lines [around his eyes] and then marks the assistants. He prepares a special shed, as for other minkisi, putting a stone in it on which to grind the chalk, and other things such as *munkwiza* creepers, palm fronds and twigs of *bwongo*, *lemba-lemba* and *lemba-toko*.



1919.1.1081. Leather bag of medicines for nkisi Musani; multiple attachments, including two brass bells, a brass bell with clapper, rattle, metal rings, two nsiba antelope horns, mpya whisk, string of red glass beads. Ludima, Republic of Congo.

Bu beti vanda, buna kabalendi simba lekwa mu nzo ko, nate nganga una basamuna yau, mboki balenda kota mu nzo ye simba lekwa, muntu wankaka kena lue mu ku nsimba ko, nate sumuna mboti ku simbu kasimbu, kafimwana kaka [ko].

Nkisi wau wena mu diambu diamuntu wena yela koko kwa mpuka, vo una bukwa mu nkisi wau, lenda niaka. Vo weti ku bahandisa wo, buna bala banganga bana lamba madia ye vana kwa ngudi a nganga. Nganga una mona kiese mu ntima mu diambu diabantu beti tambula mina miandi ye kwau yau yandi kana tambula kiese, kadi una tambula nsamanu kwa yau. Nsamanu yayi: Nsusu yankento yamufusikila yikana vana bilongo, mbo zatatu nsusu zansiamina. Hakedi mfula, buna kompe biole. Biabio insamunu vo nzolo mu nkisi andi ukavandisi kwa yau. Vo buka mpe keti wo buka ulenda muvana kiese, kadi weti baka nsamanu mu mbukulu.

Mu mbukulu bikalenda sadila mu nkisi bilongo biabionso bieti sadulwa mu nkisi mianka, bonso tondo, kazu, luyala, nsaku nsaku, ngongo nzadi, nsiba nkala mpe, vo buka i buna nsiba yoyo yina duku ntima ya mukuki. Mu nsiba yoyo yina kangwa nsinga wampusu wasieto mu lwatila wo mu laka.

Bu keti sa bobo buna tangumuna bonso ena: Nge kwe muvundumuna mutima, nge kwe mutotola mafufufulu, humu sa naho nahozi ku mu se ngongo ha mutima. Mboki yandi una tula sobwa ha nsi ye vvatikisa nlangu hoho ye mboki nibonga mu nlembo ye kusa ha ntulu ye tangumuna bonso enana: Naho nahozi, buka kuna kati, me nabuka kuna yulu e! Nge kwe mu lotoso bina ve, nge kwe mu lotoso mbungu zamputu, nge kwe mu lotoso zimamba. Bonso bobo balenda tangumuna wo.

Nlongo miankisi tiku buka kana buka, buna miena bonso ena: Ndioyo bukulu kalendi dia mbende ko ye ntumbi ye yuma kieti kokomoka fulu, nionzi, nkombo, nsusu ko, kana sangana vo tambasana zimbungu ko, vo una sumuna minlongo mionio, buna nganzi zankisi wowo zina mubwesa mu kanga ye baka yela koko diaka nate nganga dina bwesa mu buka, mbo kasikasikama mu yela koko.

Nsumukunu mu Musansi yena bonso mu nkisi miankaka. Vo nganga fwidi, buna nkisi usumukini. Ulenda tulwa mu nlangu vena kikwakwa, kidi wenda ku banda nlangu. Nkisi wau ulenda vandwa kwa wonso wena nkubu yafwana, kansi mpe ulutidi sunda kwa ndioyo wabela wo.

During the composition they may not touch anything in the house until the principal nganga tells them; then they may go in and touch things; no one else, not even a small child, may touch anything either until permission has been given.

The reason for this nkisi is that if anyone has epilepsy he can be cured if he is treated with it. When they are composing it, the assistants cook food and give it to the principal. He is pleased in his heart to see that people are heeding his prescriptions, and because he will receive a fee from them. This is the fee: a hen in exchange for giving them the medicines, and three more chickens to encourage him. If there is palmwine, then two cups of it. All this is the goodwill payment for his nkisi which he has composed for them. It makes him happy in healing, too, because he gets a fee for the treatment.

For healing the same medicines may be used as in other minkisi, such as *tondo*, *kazu*, *luyala*, *lusaku-saku*, Calabar bean, and crab claw. In the treatment a medicine pack is attached to the claw with resin and it is hung around the neck on a raffia cord.

When he is doing this he recites: "Awaken his heart, appear to him in foam, at the sound of *naho...*, *nahozi!* stir his heart." Then the priest pours the medicine mixture on the ground, pours water on it, rubs the mud on the patient's chest with his finger and recites: "*Naho...*, *nahozi!* [Peace!] Heal within, I heal superficially! Let him not dream of forbidden things, of the *mbungu-mputu* beetle, of serpents." That is the sort of thing they say.

The rules of the nkisi that apply to healing are these: the patient may not eat the *mbende* or *ntumbi* rodents, food that boils over in the pot, the *nyonzi* fish, goat, *nkayi* antelope or chicken, nor may he hand around mugs [of wine]. If he breaks these rules the anger of the nkisi will redouble to seize him and aggravate his disease, until the nganga renews his treatment, and he can get better.

The profanation of this nkisi resembles that of others. If the nganga dies, the nkisi is profaned. It may be put in water where there are rapids, so that it may be carried away downstream. This nkisi may be composed by anyone who is up to it, but mostly by those who have been afflicted by it.

Mutinu

A nkisi of this name was well known in the seventeenth century. This example of Mutinu a Maza (or, Mutinu Mamba), "King of the Water," from Kingoyi (19.1183), carries a small sea-shell, imported from the coast, to announce its connection with water spirits. The *salu* bag, which should be kept in a little *mukuta* basket topped with a raffia cloth, shows signs of having been inventoried by Laman. He says (LKIII:162) that apart from "the ordinary ingredients" (*lemba-lemba*, *dimbuzi*, calabar beans, kola nut, luyala, charcoal, *lusakusaku*), Mutinu contains cocoon of praying mantis, a *kinkoki* hook, geometrid moth, female *luzolo* bead, stones representing water spirits captured ecstatically, tooth of guinea rat, *fwa-nkabu* insect, "etc."

After the story of Mbuzi Nsemi, the originator of the nkisi, taken from Demvo, Laman's text continues with a translation of his own report on the nkisi (LKM:971-75). Mutinu is used for stomach ache, to induce pregnancy, and to catch game in traps - all situations of essentially the same form!

One of the elements of the nkisi, *dimbuzi* (a climbing plant?), is probably related to the name, Mbuzi, of the woman who brought up Mutinu. *Tombola*, "to bring up," describes equally the raising of spirits, as in ecstatic possession, and the bringing up of manioc from the water where it has been soaking (see the prohibitions of this nkisi, below).

Demvo, cahier 27; Kingoyi

Mutinu mamba watuka mu nlangu wau wena nkumbu Makuku. Nkento bu kamona mpasi mu nitu buna wabanza mu kwe yobila mu nlangu wowo kidi kamona mpongoso mu nitu, kadi kazaya nkisi ulenda kuniakisa ko. Bu kayenda lwaka va simu dianlangu katala intumbu mona matadi matatu manene manene makala kinzungidila mu nlangu. Va kati nlangu wakala diediemuka nadiedie. Mu nkadulu yoyo mwamonika ngongo nzadi zazingi zakala diediemukanga. Yandi bu kamona bobo nisimanga kwandi hoho ye kela kwandi bonso ema: E, e, e, mbo bwe bubwe. Kayitukulu ni salu diadinene ditotokedi hoho, dibadi kidi kina hoho, buna yandi i ntumbu badika sakidila makiakia mu kundila yandi Mutinu mamba.



19.1.1352. Medicine bundle, with seashell attached, for nkisi Mutinu. Kingoyi.

The nkisi Mutinu Mamba came from the water called Makuku. A woman who was suffering pain in her body thought to bathe in this water to do her body some good, for she did not know that a nkisi could cure her. When she arrived at the water's edge she looked and there she saw three huge stones in a ring in the water, and in the midst of them the water whirled round and round. There too she saw a large number of calabar beans circulating. When she saw this she was astonished at it and cried out like this: "Hey, hey, there it is, how beautiful!" To her astonishment a big *salu* bag appeared there and began to dance. So she began to clap her hands out of respect for Mutinu Mamba.

Mboko kabadika wo simba mu moko mole, kidi kanata wo ku vata. Bu kananguna wo wabadika tuntuka beni mu nzila nate ye kalwaka ku vata mu tuntuka ye tuntuka kaka. Bu kalwaka bisi vata babadika yuvula i na: nki biobio wenzi tombola ya Mbuzi Nsemi e? Kansi yandi i mwatuka kaka kazezi; buna bakala dimosi diayenda mu niema va hembo ye kunkumata va mbunzu. Bu wahonga babadika nyuvula konso kabeki wo, buna yandi wabadika ta vo mu nlangu ntombodi wo, beno bankazi zami luhanda wo. Buna bankazi bavana wo nkumbu: Mutinu Mamba.

Mutinu wateka lwakila mu vata dia Kingoto kwa wadi Mbuzi Nsemi. Mutinu wena salu kansi salu diodio diakebolo mu nkuta [nsabo] wabiza, mbo ni bwesa fuka lubongo va ntandu. Mu salu diodio mwatulwa bima biabi: Bila biamatadi bia mbwele-mbwele, ngongo nzadi, nkokila (makaya) za nsi anlangu, mpemba, musoni. Bima biobio biatulwa mu ndandani.

Fulu kia nkisi kiatulwa mu fulu kiahika mu nzo ku ngumba. Bu babadika vanda wo, buna yandi ngudi a nganga wabadika bakila mamoni mampemba mboko ni musoni. Mboki tangumuna bonso ema: Widi ya Mbuzi Nsemi wampa bumpati, wampa bunganga kudi Mutinu mpati kudi Mutinu ku bunganga. Nkunga wena bonso bwabu: E tomboka twende ngwe Mutinu Mamba tomboka, twende ngwe Mutinu Mamba.

Mu twila ke kinzenze, umulemina ke mbau, Mutinu mpati. Nkunga, Engwe Mutinu swaka sondo kiaku ngwe Mutinu, e swaka sondo kiaku.

Bilongo bina sadulwa mu buka biabi: Lemba-lemba, dimbuzi, mboki teba bilongo biabi: ngongo nzadi, kazu, luyala, kala zima, lusakusaku. Ni bu kasakumunina bonso diodio ye tangumuna bonso ena: Na ko, nakozi, buka kuna nkati, me nabuka kunu yulu e.

Mboki badika kila mu bedo mamoni mu nsoso zameso ye va ntulu ye tangumuna diaka, nako nakosi kudi Mutinu ku kento, kudi Mutini ku bakala. Kila mpe ku nima ye tangumuna b.b. Mboki kila va nsansi koko ye tombola ku hembo ye ta: mu tombola mongo a mamba kiayenda banda mamba kiasina e. Nako, nakozi. Mbo mu mpingu mpe. Ku mukodi mpingu zandi kwe, ye ziola mpe va butamu. Ku mukolomoni nkutu moyo ko e, nkutu moyo mu kebolo andi wo. Mpila mosi mu musoni mpe.

Then she tried to pick it up in her two hands to take it to the village, but when she lifted it she trembled violently until she got to the village, trembling all the way. When she arrived the villagers questioned her: "Mbuzi Nsemi, what is that you have brought up?" But she knew only where it had come from. Then a certain man seized her by the shoulders and rapped her forehead. When she calmed down they asked her how she had obtained it, and she said, "I brought it up from the water. Now do you, my elders, compose it." So the elders gave it the name Mutinu Mamba, "King of the Water."

Mutinu first arrived in the village of Kingoto to the late Mbuzi Nsemi. Mutinu is a *salu* bag, but the bag is kept in a fine *nkuta* basket to which they add raphia cloth on top to close it. The following things are put in the bag: little bits of stone, calabar beans, bits of underwater leaves, kaolin, red clay. These things are put in in order.

A place is prepared for the nkisi in the wall of the house. When they begin to activate it, the principal nganga puts rings of white and red clay around his eyes, and then he says: "Old Mbuzi Nsemi gave me occult power, magic power, power of Mutinu." The song is as follows: "Let's bring it up, Mutinu Mamba, hey, let's go fetch Mutinu Mamba."

"Let her not suffer from the grasshopper, let her not burn with fever, Mr. Mutinu." Song: "Hey Mutinu, wash your clitoris; Mutinu, wash your clitoris."

The medicines used for healing are these: *lemba-lemba* leaves, *dimbuzi*, then shred these medicines: calabar beans, *luyala*, charcoal, *lusakusaku*. Then he blesses them as follows, saying: "*Na ko! na kozi*, (it darkens) heal inside, heal above."

Then he begins to paint lines on the corners of (the patient's) eyes and on her forehead, and to repeat, "*Na ko! na kosi*, Mutinu on the left, Mutinu on the right." He paints on the back and recites as before, then on the upper arms as far as the shoulders and says: "Seeking upstream it went, downstream it finished [?]. *Na ko! Na kozi*." Likewise on the forearms: "May her arms be strong, her loins vigorous. Safeguard her womb, let her be productive." The same thing with the red clay.

Nlongo mia muntu wabukwa miena. Vo moyo watatukanga, buna kadie mayaka matombolo bubu mu nlangu ko, kadie ntoa mu fintangu-ntangu ko, kadie nzangi ko, kateki nlangu mu lumbu kia yina [bukonzo ye mpika] vo vumu kinandi ko, kayinami mu nlangu ko nate vumu kizabakani, kansi nate nganga una sumuna mio kalendi dia [mayaka mayinukwa mu nlangu] ko ye mbanda ko.

Nkisi ulenda sumuka vo ngudi nganga una dia mbanda ya nswasa ye nokono mvula. Nkisi wau ulenda vandwa kwa nkento vo bakala, ebila kadi nkento wayena mo mu nlangu ye watwala wo ku vata, kansi mu diambu diatuntuka bakala wayenda simba nkento mu kumusima mayembo, i kuma buna kintwadi ye bakala, kansi nkento viokele kadi babanzanga vo ngudi nganga kampe wayenda tambula kindoki ye muntu kayenda vana kwa Mutinu mamba, kuma kadi bwangitukulu mu diambu dia kalendi songa vuma kiavaikila nkisi wowo ko.

Vo mu wowo wabelanga wo beni ye watoma dikila nganga, buna lenda kamba kwa yandi vo nate ye una vanda wo mbo kakuyambusa bwila. Nganga bu tedi bobo, buna yandi mabanza matelamani mu vanda nkisi wowo. Ngudi nganga una vana kwa yandi mwa malavu, mpila mosi mu mutuntila. Nga fweti tambula nlongo kwa ngudi nganga.

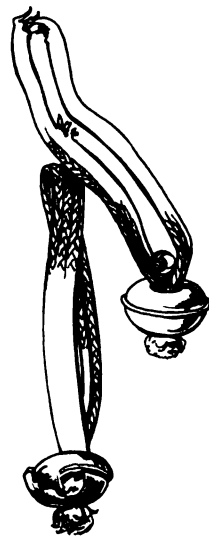
The prohibitions for the person being treated are: If she has pains in the belly she should not eat cassava that has been brought up from the water, manioc leaves or nzangi beans; not draw water on Bukonzo or Mpika days if she is not pregnant, or crouch in the water until she knows she is pregnant. Until the nganga blesses them she may not eat preparations of manioc that has soaked in water.

The nkisi may be violated if the nganga eats certain preparations of manioc or is rained on. It may be composed by a woman or a man, because it was a woman who saw it in the water and brought it to the village but it was a man who seized her shoulders on account of the trembling, so she is in partnership with the man. But the woman is more important, for they believe that the principal nganga may be a witch who has given a victim to Mutinu Mamba, since it is remarkable that he is unable to point out the place where this nkisi appeared.

If someone is sick a great deal and has often paid the nganga's fee, the latter may tell her she will never get better until she composes the nkisi herself. When the nganga has so spoken, the idea of setting up the nkisi will arise in her. The nganga instructor will give her a little palmwine to engage her, and she must accept the taboos from him/her.

Na Kongo: The Initiation Of Na Kunka

The items associated with Na Kongo in Laman's collection are no more than a few remains of what was, as he says, one of the very oldest minkisi, one that was composed in the course of long, elaborate and expensive ceremonies. Laman's account of them (LKIII:143-47) is taken mostly from cahier 38, by Nsemi in Kingoyi, with interpolations (pp.144-46) from cahier 58 by Kavuna of Nganda. According to Nsemi, Na Kongo includes a wooden figure into which nails were driven to attack evildoers. The salubag #19.1119, from Lolo, contains a much older and smokier bag in which there is little besides a few little packets of medicines and a beautiful, round piece of fossil resin (*ndingi*). No text for Na Kongo from Lolo is available.



19.1.591. Armband with rattles, for nganga Na Kongo; 13 x 9 cm. Mukimbungu.

At another place, Laman gives the story of how Na Kunka, an ambitious man from near the modern town of Luozi, became nganga of Na Kongo. This story, by Matunta, comes after a long account of Fwa Kongo (cahier 295), a version of Na Kongo that served, like Kimpasi, to initiate groups of young people. Other versions apparently served to consecrate expectant mothers and newborn children (cahier 299, LKII:11-14). Na Kongo was therefore as diverse in function as it was distinguished by age. Matunta, though he wrote from Nganda, where he taught, was a native of Luozi.

The staff #54.2354, *kumbi kia Na Kongo*, may be the same one described in the following story, in which Na Kunka's "journey" to the land of the dead under the water is an account of the period he spends in ritual seclusion (*ku vwela*) during his initiation. The songs sung ("Don't trifle with the catfish," etc.) indicate that these are dangerous mysteries.

The end of the story is that after his initiation Na Kunka received an urgent request to use his newly acquired powers in the village of his fathers, where men and women were suffering from aches and swellings all over the body. A diviner had told them that they needed the nkisi that their child had just composed. Na Kunka, of course, reminded them that they had refused him their nkisi, and charged them a pig for the treatment. "So his fathers agreed and found the pig. When they had hammered the nails, they ate, and went to the place of initiation and healing. After two days, on the third day, they were all cured. This nkisi exists to this day and is highly respected. The statue [in its house] talks to itself, so they say. A certain catechist was afflicted by it and refused to take the treatment, but he got out of it by trembling (*tuntuka*). He was from Lukunga. Na Kunka was from Luozi."

Matunta, cahier 296; Nganda

Na Kunka bu kabutwa buna ka kudila ku vata diandi ko kansi waluta zola kala ku kanda diamase mandi; koko katoma yunduka beni. Salu kikaluta zaya i mu sia maba, kansi bu kabadika zaya toma keba zimbongo buna waluta zola vanda minkisi miakala ye mase mandi, kadi nkisi miaminene ye miambakulu ambongo ye zituswa.



1954.1.2354. Cult staff for nganga Na Kongo; 38.5 x 4.5 cm. Nganda.



19.1.1119. Medicine bundle for nkisi Na Kongo; 35 cm. high. Outer bag contains an inner bag, much older and smokier, which contains a beautiful piece of ndingi resin and a collection of little packets and oddments. Lolo.

When Na Kunka was born he did not grow up in his own village but preferred to be with the clan of his fathers, where he was very well looked after. The work he knew best was tapping palmwine, but after he had begun to make some money he really wanted to acquire some of the minkisi his fathers had, for they were important, good for making money, and respected.

Kansi mase mandi bu bawa luzolo lolo buna bau ti: E cia, ubimba, katulendi vandisa minkisi mieto kwa ngeye mwana mbuta ko, kansi vo mwana kanda dieto nga buna ibabo, kansi bu vwilu kwaku kwankaka buna nkatu. Na Kunka bu kawa bobo buna i weka i do (kiadi). Watatamana mu kwe kubalomba kansi bau kabazola yambula matakuku (masinsi, lufulu) ma minkisi miau ko. Buna Na Kunka mankezi mambaka beni mu diodio, i kuma wasala mana tumbula maba makana sianga ye wayenda fwemi kwandi ku vata diandi.

Bu katula koko vata diandi buna dia nkutu kazola dia ko. Nkento andi wakala kiadi beni mu diodio, wayuvula bila; buna wantela vo mase mami mangimini nkisi miau mu kumpandisa. Buna nkento wambomba kansi le. Va zimunina nkento wankamba vo, ku kanda dieno diena ku Bidi bau bena mbidi a minkisi, buna wenda koko ye vanda. Buna Na Kunka wayenda sika malavu kwa basangi, ti: malavu ngizi tudika.

Lumbu kiananguka bu kiafwana buna wabonga malavu mole ye watula mu ntete ye nata, dimosi kasoka mu mpidi ankento andi. Bananguni kwau, kansi basidi mana tela baleke bau vo, lwiza landi kiankenge yanene ye lunata malavu, ti: A yenge, e.

Bu bayenda i va nlangu wa Ngandu, bu batula ntambi ye finka fuma nlangu wekamu makoto, bakuluka weka mu ntulu, bakuluka weka mu laka bu baniunka fioti i ladia. Bele nkento ye bakala, kadi bakulu bau ye bisimbi bamona nsatu yoyo ye nkenda (ngunda) avanda nkisi. Muna mwamonsono mu bakama kwe viokingi, buna mavata mingi bakana kwe moningi ye mavata ma ba Namakunga ye ba Nima singama ye ba Komba-Yulu ye b.b.. Muna mwamo babayuvula ku beti kwenda, buna bau vo: vata dia ta Wamba-Ndilu tweti kwe tombi.

Bafinka bana vuka yena i lumbu lwa ta Wamba-Ndilu i ntete kana dekula ye mpidi ankento. Bavunda kio lumbu hana nsuka i nkisi si bavanduswa. Bateka mana kwe toti makaya i mama: lembe-ntoko ye nsonso, lwangu lwangu, nsiki, mfilu, mwanzi akienga ye b.b..

Bilongi i luyala, tondo, nkandiku, kala zima, luhemba, nsaku nsaku, diba, lutete, kumbi-kumbi, ludingi ye b.b.. Bu bateka mana ku basona nitu yayo kwa luhemba ye nsonia (tukula) nganga wele bongana Na Kongo, wizi tula

But his fathers, when they heard of this desire, said, "Pooh! fat chance. We can't have our minkisi instituted by you, a child engendered by us. If you were a member of our clan it could be so, but since you are owned by someone else, nothing doing." When Na Kunka heard this he was very disappointed. He repeated his request but they did not want to hand over their set of minkisi. Na Kunka was very annoyed by this, so he gave up tapping wine from the trees he had been climbing and went off in a huff to his own village.

When he settled in his village he had no desire to eat. His wife was very distressed by this, and asked why, so he told her that his fathers would not let him institute their minkisi. His wife consoled him, but to no avail. At last she said to him, "In your clan over in Bidi they have lots of minkisi, so go there to acquire some." So Na Kunka went to order some palmwine from the tapsters, saying, "I need a quantity of palmwine."

When the day for departure came they took two jugs of palmwine and put them in a *ntete* basket to carry, and stuffed another in his wife's *mpidi* basket. They picked them up, but they told their young men to follow after on the next Nkenge day, bringing more wine. And they said, "Peace to you!"

They went on their way and came to the river Ngandu. They stepped into it a little and the water came to their knees. They went in deeper and it came to their chests and then to their necks, and at last they disappeared, the woman and the man, for their ancestors and the bisimbi saw their need and longing to compose minkisi. On their way they passed through the villages of the Keep Groaning people and the Stiffback people and the Sky Sweepers and so on. Whenever they were asked where they were going they said, "We are looking for the village of Ta Wamba- Ndilu."

They went on, and when they came to the compound of Mr. Wamba-Ndilu they first emptied the wife's *mpidi*. They rested there without food until the morning, when the nkisi were to be instituted. First they collected the following herbs: *lembe-ntoko*, *nsonso*, *lwangu-lwangu*, *nsiki*, *kyenga* root, and so on.

The medicines: *luyala*, *tondo*, *nkandiku*, *kala-zima*, *chalk*, *lusaku-saku*, *diba*, squash seed, *kumbi-kumbi*, *ndingi*, and so on. After they had been marked all over their bodies with white and red clays, the nganga went to

babo bakala vana kosa zinkata. Nganga meni zunga Mpemba, Tele, Ndundu-mbaka, ndundu- mbaka. Nkunga: E, kukembani ko, ngola maza. E, kukemba ngola maza, wazola kwa nkembo, ye b.b..

Kansi bu bakana yimbilanga bobo buna longo i teba ye teba kwani babwidi. Bankaka mpemba niuka ye tula munga, bankaka buna insansi bakana zokulanga bina kala mu kumbi kia Na Kongo. Nkunga waheka: Wanga nkiti-nkiti atembo. Nsafa a ndundu una kwangwa, wolo, ema tukandamene kweto. Buna nkanda wamawolo ye minkienke ye nzimbu isoma ye soma kaka.

Kansi koko vata kulasala buna baleke bayindula mu kwe ku balandi; kansi bantu batuka ku Bidi bayiza kuntombi. Buna bayituku ye kaula. I kuma bayenda tombi nganga ngombo, wayiza fiela konso kwa yenda Na Kunka. Bu kamana fiela buna wakamba vo lubaka zindungu ye lwenda vana simu a nlangu wa Ngandu, kansi ye mase ye bana batekolo, bakanda diandi ye b.b.. benda mpila mosi ye banda mavidi, sikanga ndungu ye yimbila minkunga, buna si lwabamona.

Babo bananguka ye kwenda. Babadika: E, ndombolo santu, mama ziezie. E, wonso wazaidi tata lufundu, vo kabeno bisi kanda ko, lwakenga mu kenga, lwabamba mu bamba, buna vidi diodio. Bisi kanda mpe i bobo, ti abeto hana luna kunzaila lufundu lwanyekula nkokila, lwanyekula nsuka vidi dienio diodio. Batekolo bana i bobo ye bobo. Nkunga: Kokulanga e, e walembo kuba buna wele kwa nzuzi.

Bamana sa bobo, bele kwau, kani kila nkutu bayena kio. Lumbu bitatu kia nya bakedi diaka, basika basika ye yimbila, buna bavuka yena nkento i sunzungulu, banzeki mu koko ye mpidi andi ye nsanga yankisi a Ni Kongo. Bayuvudi vo kadi toko diaku? Ti yandi basimbidi nkisi kawameni ko. Kansi lulanda, kala haha kia nkandu buna wizidi. Bele kwau kiankandu, bizidi, bayimbila ye sika ye kina, ye banda mavidi. Buna bana vuka mona i tumpu, banzeki mu koko. Buna ye nkanda wawolo ye ngunga ye nkisi ye kumbi kiankisi wowo. Koko vata buna malavu nkoko. Bu kavaika bwala, buna intumbu vuka senguka fwidi kansi nkento buna kasa kwandi: Ndombolo santu, mama ziezie. Mwaka bonzo ku ntu ye malu, sikamane. bobo kasa nsa zitatu, mboki kavwanda va lwandu.

fetch Na Kongo and had all present sit properly with their legs crossed. The nganga encircled himself with chalk, saying, "*Ndundu-mbaka, ndundu-mbaka.*" Song: "Don't trifle with the catfish," and so on.

But while they sang they were busy cutting up medicines, some of them powdering chalk and adding salt, others hollowing out nsansi to be the kumbi rattle of Na Kongo. Another song: "In the onrush of the storm, the [*weak*] *nsafa ndundu* tree will be cut down, ding-a-ding, but we are resolute." They sewed rattles and bells and *nzimbu* shells all over (an animal) skin.

Back in the village where they had remained, the young people thought of following them, but people from Bidi came to find him. At this they cried out in astonishment. So they went in search of a diviner who could tell where Na Kongo had gone. When he had divined he said, "Take drums and go to the bank of Ngandu water, but the Fathers and the Children and Grandchildren and the members of his clan, everybody must go together, uttering invocations, drumming and singing; then you will see them.

Everybody picked up and went, and they began [to sing]: "Eh, prayer to the spirit, mama [his mind] is disturbed. Whoever has anything against him, who is not one of the clan, desist, withdraw." That's one invocation. Likewise for the clan: "Anyone who has any accusation against him, let go of him in the evening, let go of him in the morning." The same for the Children and Grandchildren. Song: "When a cock crows, one who doesn't reply will be taken by the wildcat."

Having done this they went away, for they saw nothing whatever. This they did for three days, and on the fourth they were drumming and singing when lo! the woman appeared, with her mpidi basket and the wand of Na Kongo. They took her by the hand and asked her, "Where is your husband?" but she replied, "They have kept him, the nkisi is not ready; but come back on a Nkandu day and he will be here." So they went, and returned on Nkandu, singing and playing and dancing and uttering invocations. Suddenly they saw him and took him by the hand, with his skin of rattles and bells and charms. In the village the palmwine flowed like water. When he arrived there suddenly he fell down as though dead, but his wife recited: "Prayer to the spirit, mama, his mind is disturbed." She sprinkled a potion of palmwine on his head and feet, and he arose. This happened three times, and then he took his seat upon the mat.

Na Maza

A brief text by Lutete of Lolo (cahier 224, erroneously attributed in LKM to Babutidi) describes the "amulet" Na Maza (19.474).

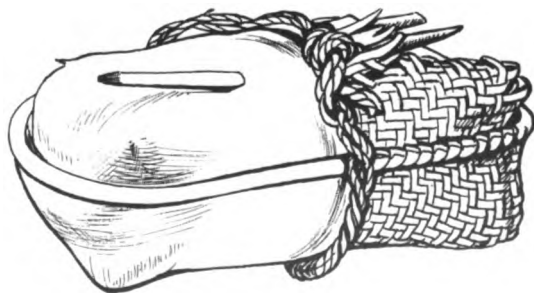
They hollow a piece of wood to make a *kunda* bell, color it red with *tukula* camwood, wrap it in a piece of cloth, add a cotton cord and hang it around the neck during divination. When they are divining for someone they sing, 'Eh, Ma Ntela [name of the original practitioner] is ready for trouble!'

The object is indeed a clapperless double bell colored red. It illustrates the practice of treating musical instruments, thought of as spirit voices, as *minkisi* in their own right, not only as accompaniments.

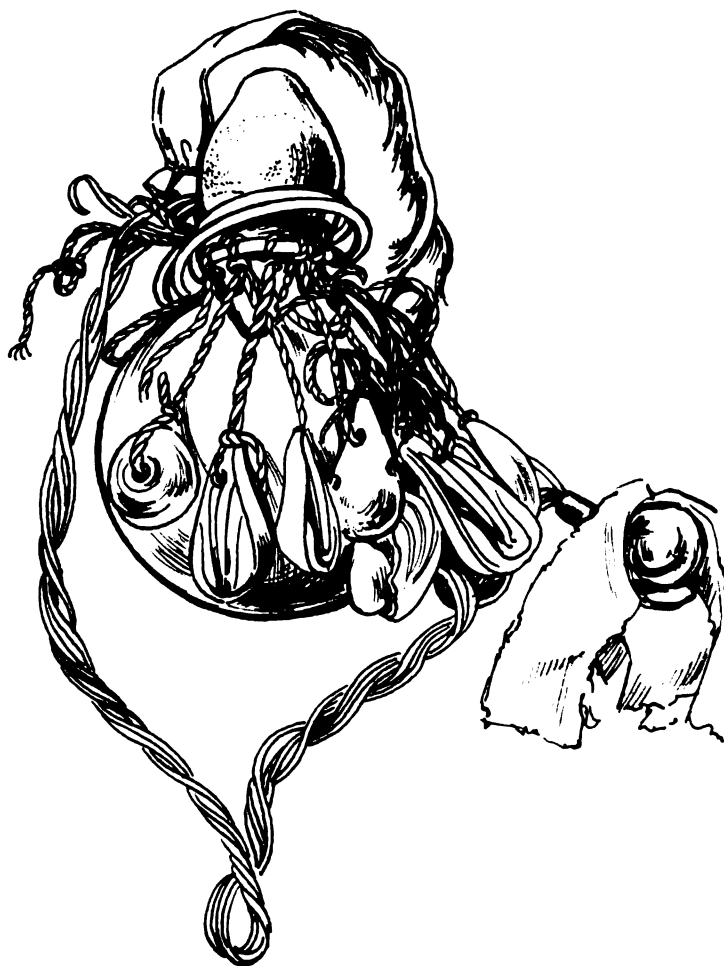
The *nkisi* proper, like other water *nkisi*, is contained in a gourd, also colored red. Lutete tells us that it summons the future *nganga* by afflicting him with chills; the initiation seclusion for the *nganga* lasts twelve weeks. Though we have no specific description of the *nkisi* itself, it is similar in name and appearance to *Nkondi* a *Mamba* (*mamba*, *maza* = water). The *nganga* of Na Maza was called Na Kwangu (LKD).

The form of the *nkisi* is a good example of the kind of artefact that was meant to be seen in motion, and at the same time to be heard. The calabash of the *nkisi* is arranged with a carrying handle of animal hide. It is, or was, colored red with camwood, inside and out, but is now empty. The neck carries three metal rings, to the heaviest of which everything else is attached, including a number of rattling things. A very small bundle attached with a string leaks more camwood. A somewhat larger attachment, tied with several strings, is built on a *mbambi* horn that wears a kind of skirt made of short strips of two kinds of cloth. These cloths were once covered with pigmented pastes in such a way that the outside was black but the inside was red. When it was waved about, this part of the *nkisi* would have flashed its red underskirt, partly revealing the medicine pack in which the horn is embedded, itself also red.

1919.1.474. Medicated bell, colored red, with carrying cord, divination amulet for *nkisi* Na Maza; 30 x 3.5 cm. Kinkenge.



19.1.1065. Medicine basket for *nkisi* Na Maza; 19.5 cm. Lolo.



1919.1.1150. Calabash, colored red, formerly containing medicines for nkisi Na Maza. Multiple attachments. Lolo.

Ndundu

Ndundu means "albino," and the prevailing color of the nkisi (19.1166, from Ludima) is appropriately white. The bag is not the original container but a piece of European sackcloth. The string tying it carries a label, "No.434 Ndundu. Ludima." There is a similar label on the string of the original bag inside, made of fine raffia cloth now disintegrating. In the bag are two broken tobacco-pipe stems, various kernels, a small snail shell, bits of quartz and rock, Calabar beans, two white bird's eggs, a carved piece of wood (probably a bell-clapper), a piece of leather, the cocoon of a bagworm, a corn cob, a conical shell, and much else besides.

Babutidi's text tells us little about these ingredients, but offers a classic example of the kind of Kongo story that in Europe would be called a fairy-tale. Laman's version of the text (LKIII:132) preserves the essentials at the expense of the story form. Albinos are believed to be, like twins, incarnations of water-spirits, who may choose to seize a human being carelessly passing by, with various consequences.

Babutidi, cahier 15; Kinkenge

Nkisi ubakilanga mu nitu yamvimba. Vo si bamona muntu meni tanda nayonzi yonzi kansi moyo andi wameni vimba navimbidi, bana babakulanga vo i nkisi wowo umbeki.

Mu mbukulu nganga si kateka zeka lembe lembe ye tula mpemba ye nsoni va mwemo ye kunnwika. Mboki ntumbu nianguna nkisi, vwaza moko va wau mboki kwe simbungi mu nitu a mbevo ye tanda mvila zazi: Vwela vwela. Kungulu basima tuma. Hi i i.

Mboki viasa minlembo miamiansuka ye saka moko ye teta nsaki cia. Mboki simba diaka nkisi ye kuntentika moko kuntu ye vova: Ndozi ziwamoto zambote kumunati mu mulangu ye ku munati mu mabenga ko. Mboki ntumbu teba bilongo biabionso biena nkisi wowo, mboki bonga mungwa ye mpemba ye nikina bio va kielo kiena va futu diodio ye bonga fitafi fiena vovo mpe ye nikanga. Bu kameni nika bobo, i ntumbu bonga findambu ye losa ye ta: Badianga badia, mboki bonga diaka findambu ye ta: Ba kabadianga ko, bahemina kwau, mboki bonga diaka findambu ye kundika, mboki yekula bilongo mu moko mandi.



1919.1.1166. Medicine bundle for nkisi Ndundu. The bag is a piece of European sackcloth, not the original container of fine raffia cloth, which is disintegrating. Ludima, Republic of Congo.

This nkisi attacks the whole body. If someone has become very skinny but has a swollen belly, they think perhaps this nkisi has got him.

For the treatment the nganga first twists lembe-lembe leaves, adds white and red clays, and makes a potion for the patient to drink. Then he takes out the nkisi, waves his hands over it, presses it to the body of the patient and recites: "Hii! Fatten, fatten!"

Then they link their little fingers, raise their hands to bless the nkisi, and clap, *cia*! Then the nganga takes hold of his nkisi again, lays his hand on the patient's head and says, "May you dream good dreams, may they not carry you off to the water nor to the gullies [abodes of *simbi* spirits]." He scrapes all the medicines in the nkisi, then grinds salt and chalk, using a pangolin scale and a small stone that are in the bag. He takes a pinch of the mixture and throws it away, saying, "They eat." Then another pinch: "They don't eat, they have given up." He gives a third pinch to the patient to eat, and scatters the rest on his hands.

Mbevo una bukilanga fimpemba fioti fioti lumbu ka lumbu nate ye moyo andi utomene vioka ye niaka. Bu kameni niaka mpe, fweni keba kaka bilongo biobio kidi vo moyo una yangumuka diaka vo tatika, buna si kabonga bilongo biobio ye dia kidi kiakabakana.

Kansi vo yandi kibeni nganga una baka bela buna si kenda ye bukulu ku nlangu [zinga kiandundu]. Kansi a zinga kiokio kiandundu kwena nkulu yavanda nkisi wowo ukumbukanga. Bu kalweki, buna i ntumbu dibuka kaka ye nsanda ye mpidi andi ye nti andi va koko va zinga kiokio. Beno bankaka lulenda banza vo mu nlangu kadibukidi, kansi kiongo nlangu wowo i nzila a bwala kwandi. Nganga bu kadibukidi va zinga kiokio, buna ndiona nkulu yatekila yetekila koko i ntumbu kwiza kunkika ye kunsonga nzila a nzo andi. Bu kalweki mu vata dina, i ntumbu kunlambila madia ye kunwika bonso bufweni. Mboki nganga yetekila koko si katoma kumbuka mu nkisi wowo wandundu. Mbatu lenda ko tenta bilumbu biole vo bitatu bonso bukazolele.

Bu keka mu vutuka ku vata, balenda toma kunzaka nsuki ye kunsindika mu madia ye vana minlele bonso bubazolele. Bu kavutukidi ku bwala, buna bisi vata bana yitukwa beni mu kummona mu diambu dia bameni kunkusa mpemba ye tukula ye toma kunzaka nsuki. Bu kalweki, buna bameni kuntanda mpe nsala zankusu ye zamalemba ye bu bamweni nsuki zatebo, buna yitukwa beni.

Yandi una kwiza mpe ye fifunda fiabilongo bibannikini kidi vo yonso ntangu yizolele futumuka yela kwandi si kanwa bio diaka ye vonga. Zinga kiokio kia ndundu kiena mwina mu yobulwa kwa bankaka ye ka diatwa mpe ko. Vo bantu bazolele sabuka zinga kiokio, buna bana kwendila mu nlungu nga ka balendi ko. Vo nganga ndundu wayenda ku buku ku nsi a nlangu ye bantu beti kwe vioki mu nlungu va ntandu a zinga kiokio, buna balenda toma wa ndinga zau ku nsi a nlangu bu beti vova vo sakana, kansi ka lulendi kubamona mu meso ko.

Vo muntu wele zieti kaka va mbel'azinga kiokio, buna vo nkisi unzolele, buna ulenda vutuka bu bwala mu mavimpi, kansi vo nkisi ka unzolele ko, buna si kabaka yela ye nate ye kizi buku kwa nganga yena ku bwala mboki lenda niaka, kansi mpe mbatu vo muntu ndieu zietele va mbela zinga kiokio nkisi kanzolele ko, buna i ntumbu kumbukika bungi mu meso ye kunkanga, mboki kuntuba sindisa va zinga kiokio se wendididi.

The patient is treated with a little of this chalk mixture every day until his stomach returns to normal. When he is better he keeps some of the medicine ready lest he have any more trouble.

If the priest himself should fall ill he goes to a certain pool (the pool of Ndundu) to be treated. In this pool is the ancestor who first composed the nkisi, who does the treatment. When the priest comes to the pool he plunges in with his *nsanda*-apron, his *mpidi*-basket [containing the nkisi] and his staff in his hand. Others may think he has just jumped into the water, but the water is really the way to the village. Once he is in the pool, the ancestor who preceded him comes to welcome him and show him the way to his house. When they get to the village, he is given food and drink, as is proper. Then the first nganga treats him with nkisi Ndundu; the treatment may last two or three days, as he sees fit.

When it is time to return home they shave his hair and send him off with food and presents of cloth. The villagers back home are surprised by his appearance because he has been shaved and painted in white and red. When he arrives, they give him feathers of the parrot and the *lemba*-bird [pelican?], and marvel at his shaved head.

He brings back with him a little packet of medicine so that if he feels his illness returning he may take a little of it and recover. The Ndundu pool has a rule that noone else may bathe there or step into it. If people want to cross they must go in a canoe or not at all. If the nganga of Ndundu has entered the pool for treatment, people who happen to pass overhead in a canoe may hear the voices [of the spirits] talking and joking, though there is nothing to see.

If anyone should be passing by the edge of the water and the spirit happens to like him, he returns to the village in good health, but if it does not like him he will fall ill until he goes for treatment to the nganga in the village; then he may get better. But it may also happen that if the spirit takes a dislike to him as he walks by the water it may inflict dizziness on him, seize him and cause him to fall into the water, never to return.

Lumbu kimosi bahidi [= bavili ou balwangu] bayenda zieti lombo kiamvimba. Bu balwaka va zinga kiokio, ka bazaya ko vo kiayina. Ikuma bayenda vo nwe nlangu, bu bamana nwa, bavovasana: Twayobileno kweto. Babadika. Bu bavula mimvwatu ye kidita mu nlangu wowo, buna i ntumbu dimina ye sinda babonsono, kansi muntu mosi kaka wasala ku kumu mu kenga bilekwa biau wavuka ye vutuka mu dilu ku nsi au.

Va zinga kiokio ha hiongulanga ngola mamba yayinene yifwanane bonso mbwa. Bulu kiokio kiena nave kungsi a moyo ye saka diandi diapinda. Mu nitu andi mwena mika bonso mbwa, kansi nkila wena mpila mosi ye luhehe lwambizi a nlangu. Bamonanga babanzanga vo ngola mamba, ka kiongono i mbwa andi yoyo.

Ngudi anganga yateka banguka nkisi wowo, kasoka wo mu ngangu zayandi kibeni ko, kansi watuntuka ku bwala ye mayembo mannate ye mayenda kunlumba ye kunsindisa va nlangu wowo, se walwaka ku vata dia ngudi anganga ndundu ye yandi wamvandisa wo kuna. Ye bwabu wonso wonso uzolele wo vanda, lenda wo vanda kwa nganga zakisi bwala mpe.

On day a great crowd of strangers came that way. They arrived at the pool, knowing nothing about it. They drank the water and then they said to each other, "Let us bathe." They began to do so, taking off their clothes and stepping into the water, when suddenly they all sank and disappeared. One man only, who had remained to watch over their things, was saved, and returned grieving to their country.

In the pool there was a large otter swimming about, as big as a dog. This creature was all white below its belly, but with a dark coat. On its body were hairs like those of a dog, but its tail was like the fin of a fish. People who saw it thought it was an otter, but really it was Ndundu's dog.

The original nganga who first possessed this nkisi did not think it up himself. He began to tremble while in the village, and the fit took him to the water and threw him in so that he sank. He came to the village of the chief nganga of Ndundu, who initiated him. Nowadays whoever wants to compose the nkisi can turn to the ordinary nganga in the village.

Nkita Nsumbu

The excellent drawing of the contents of Nkita Nsumbu (19.1357), together with an inventory made at the Museum, show that it contains inter alia:

an old knife-blade	2 bracelets	2 partridge eggs
2 nuts	13 Calabar beans	4 other beans
16 pearshaped nuts, <i>kyala moko</i>		tortoise-shell
3 bagworm cocoons	claw, set in mud	claw with red
dried flowers	stalactite	feather
hen's foot	claw	8 pieces of chalk
stone with red and white parts	10 pieces of quartz	
spiral shells	1/2 mussel-shell	palm kernel

A photograph of the interior of the nkisi is reproduced by Thompson (1983:119). According to him, it has double *kunda* bells tied to it, and the medicines are embedded in *mpemba*.

Object #19.1170, illustrated in LKII, fig.35 and 39, is labeled "Nkita Niumbu." This name does not occur anywhere else as that of a nkisi, and no text describing it has come to light. Moreover, Laman himself would have spelled it "Nyumbu." There is reason to believe, therefore, that this name is the result of an error in transcription, and that the object in question is another example, also from Lolo, of Nkita Nsumbu. The old hoe-blades that it contains would then tend to confirm Lutete's suggestion (cahier 224) that Nkita Nsumbu is related to Mbenza (q.v.), in whose cult such hoe blades play a part.

Lutete's account of the origin of the nkisi (which is simultaneously an account of the ritual of initiation) is classical in form, to be compared with the story of Na Kunka and nkisi Na Kongo. The knife blade in the nkisi bag is one of those "thrown" by the spirit, and we may guess that the flowers are those of *luyangu-yangu*.

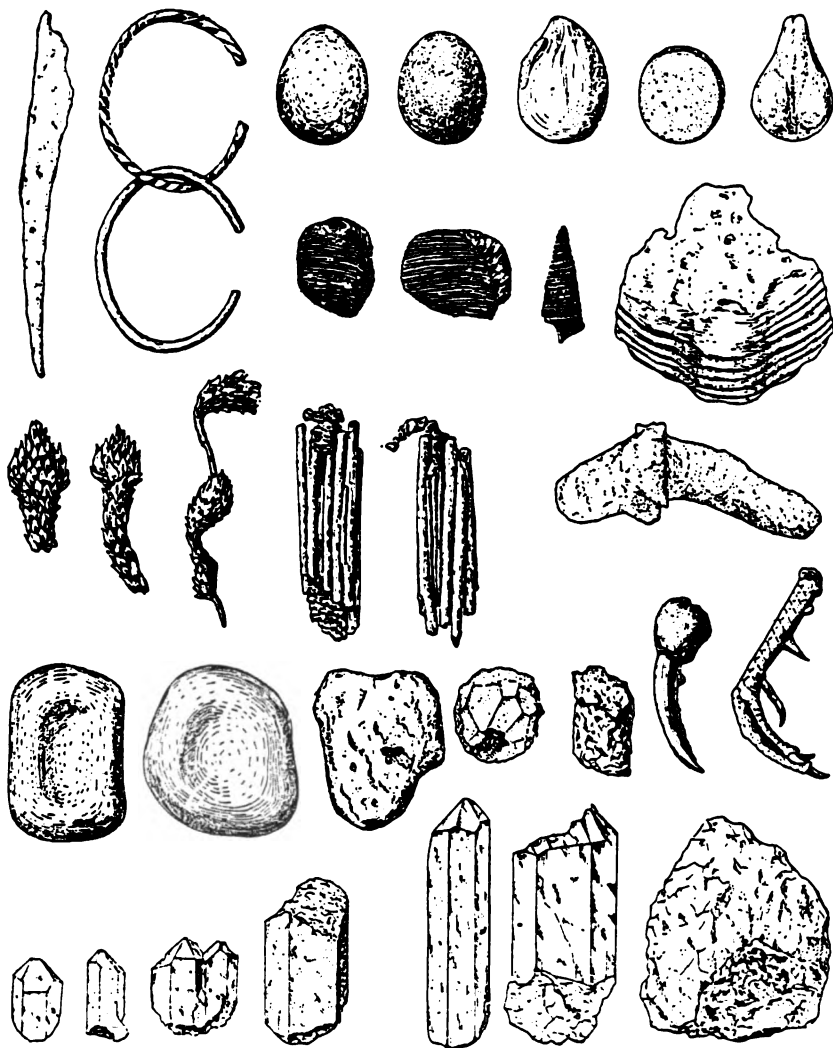


19.1.1357. Medicine bundle for nkisi Nkita Nsumbu, 30 cm. Lolo.



19.1.1170. Medicine bundle, disintegrating, for nkisi Nkita Nsumbu. Lolo.

66. Drawing of the
contents of nikiei
Nikita Naumbu,
19.1.1170. Lolo.



Nkita nsumbu i nkisi mu futu, fisidinga watuka mu kanda dia Mbenza, kadi dibenina kintwadi kia fuma i mpila za Matadi momo masemunwanga Bisimbi, kansi diswaswana diena vo Nkita ulenda kala mu nsi a ntoto ye mu nlangu. Kansi Mbenza nkisi ukalanga ku nto a nlangu kaka vo vakati kwa zintadi vo ku mvwila mongo. Nkita wena mpe yandi ndinga ye wena mpe kwandi yela yela ku tula nkita mu muntu i nitu yayonso mvimbu ye mvimbu, vo muntu una yelanga mimvimbu ntangu zazo, buna Nkita ukuba tubanga matadi mu nitu yamvimba vo una kala zimputa mu nitu yamvimba buna mbele vo minsoma katubua kua Nkita, buna nganga zanka zibakulanga vo Nkita Nsumbu yansombole Vo una tatamana yela mu ntangu zazingi buna una tutuka Nkita.

Ndandi Mfuka bu kazieta mu mbela nlangu, buna nkita ye nkisi miankaka mia mbuila ye miannata kuzinga kia nlangu ye kuna kakala vwa dia zinsona, yakumi kavayaka ye matadi mole imana kasemina nkita kuna nsi a nlangu, bu kavaika ku bwala buna weka nanonuka ye tukula, ye wakala mu vuala dia ku bwala nsona mosi, ya nzole wakutuka kwandi, wazaya mamingi ku nsi a nlangu ye mu nsi a ntoto bionso vuma bikalanga bankita. Mu lumbu kina kikakatuka ku vwala, wazikwa biu biabingi, kansi wavula biuvu biabio kazimbakana kiuvu ko wasamuna biabionsono ye watoma bio vutula.

Nkita yombe ye Nkita nsumbu i kanda dimosi kwandi, kansi mbikulu mu nkita yombe i kabu difweti tutuka babakala. Nga mu minsongo ye mi bavananga mu nitu a muntu i mvimbu ye zimputa mu nitu. Buna muntu bu kameni tutuka Nkita, una lembwa dia ngulu. Nkondo ye mayimba ye bitiba, budidi biobio kaba na kota mu nzo andi ko, vo ka bavungumukini mwisi waluyangu-yangu ko. Biobio biena nlongo nate ye kuna lufwa lwandi.

Mu mpaikulu ku vwala balambanga mpe lambi, i lambu diena bulu bia mpila mu mpila. Nga mu kinzu kimosi mpe batulanga bulu bia makanda mamonsono. Vo kabeki yandi kibeni mbizi ko, batulanga nkanda wa bulu kiabakama ntama. Kansi maia mabinzu mana lambwa, buna dia babo, banzenza ye bisi vata.

Nkita Nsumbu is a nkisi in a bag. Probably it came from the Mbenza group, because these minkisi are associated with the kind of stones that are used in initiation to *simbi* spirits, but there is a difference. Nkita can be both on the land and in the water, but Mbenza is a nkisi that stays only in a spring among rocks, or in a hillside stream. Nkita has its own voice and its own afflictions that cause a person's body to swell up all over. If someone's body is constantly swelling, it is supposed that Nkita has thrown stones into her body. If she is covered with boils, they say that Nkita has thrown knives and nails. The nganga will suggest that Nkita has chosen her; if the trouble persists, she should be initiated to this nkisi.

When Ndandi Mfuka was walking by the edge of the water, *nkita* and *simbi* spirits seized him and took him into the pool, where he remained for nine Nsona days [nine weeks]. On the tenth he emerged with two stones with which he had composed Nkita under the water. When he appeared in the village he was covered with spots of red camwood. He remained in an enclosure for another Nsona day. On the next, he came out of it, knowing many things about the places under the earth and under the water where the *bankita* live. That day, he was asked many questions, but he answered all of them, forgetting none, and explained everything.

Nkita Yombe is the same thing as Nkita Nsumbu, except that Nkita Yombe is the version that possesses men. Its symptoms are bodily swellings and sores. One who has been possessed by Nkita should not eat pork. After eating bananas he may not enter his house without first passing through the scent of *luyangu-yangu* flowers. These taboos stay in force all his life.

When he leaves the enclosure in the village, a feast is made with the flesh of many animals put in the same pot. If he has not himself caught a particular animal, they put in the skin of one caught previously. Everybody partakes, including strangers.

Nkondi Me Mamba Me Mbenza

This nkisi is closely similar to Na Maza (q.v., 19.1150), also from Lolo, whose name also means "water." Apparently neither of them is nailed, and Na Maza is not called Nkondi. Nkondi mu Ngundu Me Mvuma, as described briefly by Lutete (cahier 224), is also like Me Mamba, but more so, in that after the slaughter of the pig, four mats rather than just two are floated on the surface of the water; the banganga themselves sit on the mats to prepare the nkisi, "and not a man will get wet, such is the power of Me Mvuma." Minkondi are usually nailed figures, used to attack wrongdoers, but healing is the only function given for Nkondi Mamba. There is no mention of nailing either, but there is reason to think that the material form of Mukwanga originally included a wooden figure.



19.1.1316. Calabash containing medicines for nkisi Nkondi Mamba; 26 x 23.5 cm. Intricately knotted oddments are tied to the neck of the calabash; the whole is colored red. Inside are two complex bundles held in place by sprung bamboo strips. Lolo.



68. Detail of 19.1.1316.

Nkosi yayi yivandwanga vo muntu una bakama yela kua luka menga, ye vo bantu bankaka ye vo bana basisukanga, ye vo bantu bafwa Kipingu [=nswalu] buna wonso uluta vumbwanga nkosi yoyo, buna yandi una yo tutuka, ngulu yina mvikunwa nkosi. Masamba ye ngudi a nganga, babo bana simba Makuwa(?), bana mo bandanga va nsi ye songanga mo ngulu bana songa nsonga tanu yansambanu ngulu yifwidi, wowo i nlunguzi wabwala.

Bubameni katula menga mu ngulu, buna mau bana nata ku nlangu, kuna kuena mpe nlunguzi wankaka, kuna nlangu bana nata nkwal zole zazine ye tadi dimosi dibana tebila bilongo ye dina tutulwa mabonzo bu bana lwaka ku nlangu buna ngudi anganga una sakumuna mafuma mazinkwala ye vakati a nkwal buna una vova mambu mu tanda mvila. Tata nama nzimbu anama Kinama nti Kinama muntu.

Buna nkwal zina tatamana va nlangu kabana dimina ko, ivana bana mana komina Nkondi ye tadi dina tulwa vana kadi lenda dimina ko kabana bola ko bana kala bonso va nsi yayuma, kuna bana lambidika kiteke, buna babo bana lambala, dimbu kiokio bana keba mvu ka mvu ye mbandu kambandu vo bana mona nkisi yina nunguka [falla] buna babo babwena va bwala bana lambalala va nsi, babweno ku mfinda kabana kuiza diaka ku vata ko nate ye ngulu yina vondwa mu nwiika nkisi menga buna una vumbulua buna babo bana vumbuka ye bana dia ngulu yoyo babo, ye bana nwa mabonzo ye miemo, buna bana lemba bwala mu nzo zazo ye lemba bantu mpe buna nganga una vova. Lembika Mwene Nkondi Bindende ndekete biaku mwene. Biobio i lendo biole biena mu Nkondi yoyo.

This *nkosi* is invoked when someone has the sickness of vomiting blood or if others have epilepsy or die very suddenly, then whoever is most under the influence of this *nkosi* invokes it, and a pig is killed for it. The principal nganga and his assistants take hearth stones, bang them on the ground and show them to the pig five times; on the sixth time the pig dies. This is the miracle in the village.

When they have drawn the blood from the pig they take it to the water, where there is another miracle. They take two *nkwal* mats to the water and a stone on which they will prepare medicines and potions. When they reach the water the nganga blesses the corners of the mats and the center, then recites as follows: "Tata, the bead, stick to it, fix the tree, fix the person!"

Then the mats are spread on the water and do not sink. On them they place the Nkondi and the stone, which does not sink or get wet. They are as it were on dry land. When the figurine is laid on its side, everybody lies down. This is a sign they must observe for ever and ever. If they see that the nkisi has fallen over, then everybody in the village must lie on the ground. Those who are in the forest may not enter the village until a pig has been killed so that the nkisi may taste blood. When it has been righted, then everybody may rise to eat the pig and to drink medicines. Then they bless all the houses in the village and all the people. The nganga says, "Desist, Nkondi, sir; these are your children!" These are the two powers of this Nkondi.

Nkubulu

Nkubulu is often the name of a particular device, a part or version of a nkisi used to "massage" a patient by striking his body; such a *nkubulu* takes the appropriate form, as the case of nkisi Kubungu (q.v.), of a small, hard lump tied into a raffia mat in such a way that a convenient handle remains by which it can be swung. However, LKD

spells Nkubulu with a long vowel, Nkuubulu, and derives it from a different verb, *kuubula*, "to change one's skin."

Nkubulu (19.1162, from Kingoyi), a nkisi for the treatment of smallpox, is a remarkable complex of small, intricately worked bags all tied together. The predominant color is red, with one of the bags evidently intended to be black. The text describing the use of this nkisi is by Lutete of Lolo (LKII:67-70).

As usual, some of the gestures in the ritual evoke concepts by a kind of punning. The palm branches (*nsambu a ndala*) hung at the bounds of the village are here called *zindembe* to evoke *malembe*, "tranquillity." The action of "cutting bananas" (*kwanga mankondo*) implies "settling an affair" (LKD); since there is an association between bananas in their multiplicity and "people," the skins of the bananas are not thrown on the rubbish heap because that suggests death.



19.1.1162. A collection of packets of medicines for nkisi Nkubulu. One is packed in red blanket-cloth, one in fine raffia. Four are contained in specially made net bags. About 26 cm. long. Kingoyi.

Lutete, cahier 218; Lolo

Kingenya i beela kwa mbi kwatinwa beni mu nsi a nkulu, kadi vo kwizidi buna babingi bana fwila ko. Vo muntu mosi una bakama kwa beela koko, buna babo va bwala ntumbu sisa bwala ye kwenda tiinina mu zimfinda. Kansi wateka beela beela koko, una sadisa babakamene nsongo wowo, kansi bana tuula nzo andi ntama ye ku bwala. Bayenda mu tiina vo umosi mpe una monika beela koko, buna bana kunnata kuna kwayele tuulwa wankaka, buna bana tiina fulu kyokyo dyaka ye kwenda ku ndambu yankaka.

Vo babingi bana bakama beela koko, buna bana landa nganga yena nkisi wau wena nkumbu Nkubulu. Nganga vo wizidi, buna baboo bana vutuka ku bwala ye zimbevo mpe zina vutuka ku bwala ye lekwa byabyo bitiniswa bina vutulwa ku vata, kadi Nkubulu wizidi mu kuba beela koko mu bwala.

Babakala babo batuukidi ku vata dyanganga bana kwiza yandi. Kansi ka balendi totuka mwini ku bwala ko, kansi tombe bana lwaka. Mu mwini ngudi a nganga una tekisa nsamu bakanga zindembe mu mafula mavaikilanga banzenza. Buna nganga bu kalweki, buna kindungu kina sikwa te bila. Buna yimbila fuku dya mvimba kuma dya ndungu dina sikwa mu nswalu-nswalu.

Smallpox is a serious disease much feared in the old days, for when it broke out many people would die. If one person contracted it, everybody would leave the village and run away to the forests. Those who had already had the disease would tend the victim, but they would put his house a long way from the village. If someone among those who had fled showed the symptoms they would carry him where the first victim was, and then run away somewhere else.

If many were smitten they would seek out the priest of a nkisi called Nkubulu. When he came, those who had fled, and all their things, and all the sick were returned to the village, because Nkubulu had come to cure the disease.

All the men of the village of the nganga came with him, but they might not arrive by daylight, only after dark. The next day the nganga gives warning of the matter by having fringes of palmleaf hung at the entrances to the village where strangers arrive. When the nganga has come, the *ndungu*-drum is urgently sounded and songs are sung all night, such as this one:

Buna yimbila wau wantete: E, wavanda Nkubulu, Kala ngolo maamee E, elunge.

E, twakandame. Salu mbazi maamee E, elunge.

E, lubongo lwa nkangi E elunge.

E, tumweni mo, Salu mbazi maamee E, elunge.

Buna yandi kibeni ngudi a nganga una tuntuka ye wonso wankaka mu kabu bana tuntuka. Bu bameni sa bobo, buna bana leeka ye mu nkyelo a bwisi ngudi a nganga una booka bonso bwabu: E, twakandama kweto. Baboo va bwala bana vutula: E, twakandama kweto, Nkubulu e?

Buna mu nsuka nabu baboo va bwala, babanene ye babake bana yonzama mu nlonga ye zimbevo nlonga wankaka. Buna nganga una tuula bonso dya nkisi mu boola dya nlangu ye una bonzuta dyo mu nlangu ye una teka mwanga nlangu wowo kwa bena mu kabu dyandi. Buna yandi una booka mpe: Kadi lwakandama kweno e? Bau bana vutula: E, twakandama kweto. I bosi si kamwanga nlangu wowo kwa bena mu vata. Bavini a ntete kana teka mwanga nlangu, bana vutula mpe: E, twakandama kweto e. Bosi mwanga kwa zimbevo. Momo i mantete mu nsuka wantete.

Buna mankondo ka bena nsatu a vewa ko, kansi bau kibeni bana kwanga mo. Bititi bi bana dia ka bina looswa ku zala ko. Mu mafula mukengo zindembe ye muna ketukwa binsafi bya mfilu ye bya nlolo bina ketukwa mu zindembe ye manunga mazingazi mana ketukwa momo zindembe ye minsanga-lavu.

Nzenza kalendi vyoka lulembe lolo ko ye kota mu bwala. Vo balembolo zaya ye ntumbu kota kaka, buna bana futa nsombo, bosi mpe kandika nkele myau, vo ka bwa ko. Buna bana vaana nsombo a nkisi ye veta mpe nkumbula. Biiti bi badianga vo nsusu una byo kwiza dyata, buna nsusu yina kangama. Buna baboo bana vova: E, twakandama, e Nkubulu. Lumbu ka lumbe bana kina ye dumuka mu ngolo. Ndungu ya nkwalu mpe yina sikwa. Babingi bana tuntuka ye nkumbu mpe bavewanga mpe mu nkisi wowo.

Bu bameni vandisa nkisi mu lumbe kya mvutukulu ku bwala bwau zinsusu zazoo, zazinene ye zazike, bana zo nata ye binzu byabyonsono bi bakedi lambilanga ye malonga ye bizalu ye vo zimbangu vo bidodo, kyonso kyonso kyasadulwa kyena yau kina natwa kaka, kadi bina byabyo bya nkulu byananamana nsongo ye bau bizidi kuba vuku kyokyo. Mpila mosi yoyo i mpeedoso mu bwala ye mu bantu.

"Eh, you have composed Nkubulu, be strong, be sufficient. May we be protected. Tomorrow the work, eh, let it be sufficient. Eh, a raffia mat [of inferior sort] we have seen it, tomorrow the work."

Then the principal nganga and anyone else in the crowd may lapse into ecstasy. Afterwards they sleep until dawn, when the nganga cries out: "May we be protected!" Everybody in the village replies, "May we be protected, Nkubulu."

In the morning everybody lines up, old and young, in one line, the sick in another. The nganga puts the nkisi's herbal mixture in a dish of water, crumbling it in the water and sprinkling it first on those who are of his party, exclaiming: "Will you not be protected?" They reply, "May we be protected!" He then sprinkles all who are in the village. Those who are sprinkled first say, "May we be protected!" and sprinkle the sick. That's what happens the first morning.

It is not proper to give out bananas, but everyone must cut his own. The peel may not be thrown on the rubbish heap. At the approaches to the village palm branches are tied with bunches of *mfilu* and *nlolo* leaves hung in them together with [?.], and the reed *nsanga-lavu*.

Strangers may not cross this barrier or enter the village. If they are not aware and enter anyway, they must pay a fine and must hang a sign of interdiction on their guns, or otherwise pay a fine to the nkisi and fire a shot. If a hen should step on the banana skins, it must be tied up, and everyone says, "Let us be protected, Nkubulu!" Day after day they dance and jump vigorously to the sound of the *ndungu*. Many go into trance and assume new nkisi-names.

When they have finished composing the nkisi, on the day of returning to the village they take with them all the chickens large and small, all the pots they have used for cooking, and all the spoons, dishes and baskets; everything they have used must be taken because the disease attaches to the things and they have come to clean it up. This is how the village and the people are purified.

Mambu mengi mena mu nkisi wowo ye ngudia nganga kaka lenda simba mbeyo ya kingenya. Bavanganga mabonzo mu zinsinga za mavusu, buna babonganga yimbu byabyo byena mu mfinda ye byena mu nseke ye makaya ma nlolo ye mfilu bituutwanga ye tuulwanga mu mabonzo, bosi batomanga kinzu kyakike ye tuula yimbu byankaka momo ye sanga byo makala zima, tuuta mo ye biyimbu va kimosi. Buna mu fuku kinzu kina tuulwa va fulu a bwala, buna bakento baboo bena va bwala bana kwe kyo subila masuba. Buna mu nsuuka malavu mana tuulwa vovo ye ngudi a nganga una soba mo mu nlembo ye baboo, bakento ye babakala ye zintaudi ye baana ba nswa bana nwa fyoti fyoti. I bosi bana kusa mpita va zimpenga ye va mbulu. Buna ngudi a nganga una A vova: E, twakandama, Nkubulu. Buna baba baboo bana tambudila: E, twakandama kweto e.

This nkisi is a complex one; only the nganga may touch a victim of smallpox. He makes a medicinal mixture of raffia fibers with all the poisonous things from both the forest and the savanna, together with pounded leaves of *nlolo* and *mfilu*. He gets hold of a little pot in which he puts other poisons mixed and pounded up with charcoal. At night the pot is placed at the edge of the village and all the women must urinate in it. In the morning the nganga adds palmwine and mixes it with his finger; everybody, men and women, young and old, including infants, must take a sip. Then black stripes such as warriors wear are marked on their temples and foreheads and the nganga says, "Eh, let us be protected, Nkubulu!" and everyone replies, "Let us be protected."

Nzyodi

The two examples in the collection are from different though adjacent areas. The first text, by Laman himself, refers to Nzyodi 19.1.1210, from Lolo, which he calls "No. 155." There is now no sign of the *salu*-bag to which the description refers. The second, by Demvo of Kingoyi, is dated 1915. Neither text is used in LKIII.

The Lolo Nzyodi, unlike the one from Kingoyi (but it may not be complete) consists of a snail-shell painstakingly enclosed in a net made of a hard vegetable fiber, to which extra knots (*makolo*) have been added. The interior material is clearly black.

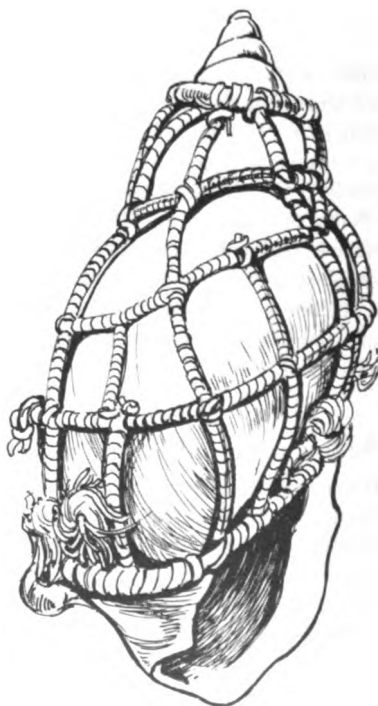
Laman, LKM:1057

Kuba dyakebila makodya dyena kodya dya mbakala dyena mpemba ye dya nkento dya ndimba. Va lweka salu dyena ndimba ye bilongo bikalanga mu salu dya bakisi babonsono ye makaya manseke. Byatebwa ye tebwa kaka.

In a *kuba*-packet are kept a "male" snail shell, which is colored white with kaolin, and a "female" one, which is red with *ndimba*-clay. Also a *salu*-bag in which is *ndimba*-red and the medicines from the Nkisi Babonsono, pounded together.



19.1.1137. Medicine bundle for nkisi Nzyodi; 12.5 cm. Kingoyi.



19.1.1210. Net-wrapped snail shell of medicines for nkisi Nzyodi; 10.5 cm. Lolo.

Mwa salu fyofyo fyena mu keba bilongo bina, bu bavanda nkisi, nga ka bibongwa ye sadulwa ko, kansi nwika makodya masokwa bilongo bina. Nkisi bu walundwa Nzyodi ubukulwa: beela kwa mooyo tatika, kinkema- nkema [=neena menga mafyuma, nsatu a neena ye neena], mfumu a moyo totuka mu kema [=kondo dia] moyo kyongila ku butama ye mukumba.

Demvo, cahier 28; Kingoyi

Nzyodi kodia [=nkisi a kitantu] Wavewa nkumbu yoyo mu diambu diamoyo bu watatika nate ku butamu, kadi bu keti mona kwama ye mona nkievo mwa kinkamina, buna i kuma kaveni wo nkumbu Nziodi. Yandi wena mu kanda dia nseke, kadi bisalulu biandi biena mu nseke, kuma wena mu kanda dia nseke.

Bila kiankisi wowo, vo muntu weti nena menga, buna nkisi wowo lenda kuniakisa mu yela koko. Vo mbula yabakala yina vimba ye totoka menga, buna nkisi wowo wankengi momo. Yandi watuka ku vata dia Nkenge kwa muntu wantete mu nkisi wau nkumbu andi wadi Mbaku Nabiala.

Lunitu lwandi lwakotila mukodia mbo ni tula dio mu mwa kizanga mu mu dina kebulwa. Nkutu yoyo yina tungwa mu mpusu kaka, nga ka kiakaka ko. Mu ngudi kodi mutulwa mpemba va ntandu kodia vana tulwa ntima yamukuki. Va ntima yoyo vana tulwa mwemo ukana zokuna mu moko, mbo ntumbu musonia ye bikumbi bikana kwe betiki hoho. Fulu kiankisi wowo kilenda kala mbatu va mwelo wangudi nzo, mbatu lenda wo kebila mu nkutu mpasi muntu kuna ta moko mu nkutu andi ko.

Bu kavandanga wo, bana teka sola bakento bana wo nika va tadi, mpila mosi bakandukula, bana sakumuna minlele miau ye mataba mau, mpasi bantu bamona vumi mu bakento bobo ye lembo bo sosa mu yanga muntu wankaka walembwa bo kwela. Kansi vo fwidi, buna bakento bobo bana sukulu ku nlangu mbo balenda kala ye matoko mankaka, kansi nganga nandi una sukula bonso bobo. Mataba mankento vo mankulu, buna mana loso mu nlangu, mboko toko kavinga mankaka, kansi vo kabana mo kula kwa nganga ko, buna mana kala manganga. Nkundu zena tebwa ye loswa mu nlangu, yandi kibeni nkento una yobila mu nlangu ye kwendisira mvindu mu nlangu.

The medicines kept in the little *salu*- bag when the nkisi was composed are not used for healing; instead, the medicines packed into the shells are licked. Nzyodi is used to treat stomach pains and *kinkema-nkema*, (small amounts of blood in the stool, constant need to defecate), uterine bleeding and navel hernia. [The account continues with a description of healing.]

Nzyodi in a shell (nkisi of enmity). [The nkisi] was given this name because of the belly being painful to the rectum, so that it feels as though a mouth were chewing on it, that's why it was called Nzyodi, "python." It belongs to the land class, because its uses are on land.

The reason for this nkisi is that if someone should excrete blood, this nkisi can cure him of it. If a man's anus should swell and pass blood, the nkisi will stop it. It came from the village of Nkenge, and the first man who had it was the late Mbaku Na Byala.

The body it is put in is a shell which is kept in a bag. The bag must be woven of raffia, no other fiber. Inside the shell is placed white clay and on top of it a packet sealed with resin. In the packet herbs are stuffed, with red clay and red beans crushed in it. The nkisi's place is above the interior door of the house, or one may keep it in his carry-bag to prevent anyone from dipping a hand in it.

When they compose it, they first seek women to grind it on a stone, as in cooking. The women's clothes and loin-cloths are blessed so that people will respect them and not try to get them to sleep with any man to whom they are not married. If [the husband] dies, the women must be washed in the river before they can be with other men. The nganga washes them as follows. If their loincloths are old they are thrown in the water and the new man replaces them; otherwise they have to be redeemed from the nganga. Their body hair is shaved and thrown in the water. The woman herself bathes in the water, which carries away all the dirt.

Nkento bu kameni yobila, mbo nganga una bonga munkwisa wukana mwanga nkento mbo dieka bobo sumukini buna balenda kala toko dianzenza. Bila kia ku mamba, kadi yandi katuka mu nlangu ko, yandi bwakatuka mo, buna kazolele bwa tela dianlangu ko, nga buna ngolo zandi zimeni. Kansi mu diambu dia malavu mansamba ka mena funa bonso nlangu ko i hanu balenda fwanikisa mulangu mu diambu diasukula biabio momo kaka.

Be beti wo vanda, balenda baka nsusu zole zole mu muntu muntu, mboki madia mamingi bana vana banganga kidi bamona kiese. Nkisi wowo ulenda vana mwa mbongo kwa banganga vo vanda beti wo vandisa ku buka keti kwe buki, buna mbongo babakilanga momo.

Bilongo bina sadulwa vo ku buka keti buka: Makaya masudia, mungaka, dimbuzi, lemba-lemba, ngubu. Biabina bu bina zokono, mboko badika teba biabi. Ngongo nzadi, kala zima, kazu, luyala, lusaku-saku; biobio kana kweliti [=teba] fuma fuma ye tula mu mwemo, kansi biankaka beti siku mu nwa kadi mwemo wakasakumuna mbo mbevo kanwa kansi mu kana nwina mio mu malavu mansamba masieholo buhu. Bu keti nwiika, buna weti ta mambu mama: Buka kuna nkati me nabuka kunu yulue! Ku mu nenesi bombo diansudia ko ye ku nenesi menga ko e. Wadi Mbuku Mabiala watu ha bumpati watuka bunganga, kadi yandi wafwa kwandi kiamutu kakwe tuhekanga ndozie. Mboki nibonga kodia ye tula malavu mpe mbo nivwatisa ye mpemba yena momo ye nwiika ye tangumuna bonso kanwikini miemo. Bu kameni hanga bobo mbo kana kila mamoni mu mubedo mampemba yoyo yivunukidi [kwa malavu].

Mina mikana simba vo keba imiami: Kadie menga me bulu ko, kadia makaya mansudia ko; kalendi viokolo lusambu mu nitu ko, vo muntu vokiele ye sidi mu bumisa nlele buna ndioyo una tembisa lusambu lwandi lwandlele ye yandi [prasten] una bonga mwa butoto ye una kwe fie tudi mu nsongi zamahembo (24-11-1915) ye mu malu mboki nitukuna moko ku ntuala zizi kiandi mpasi nganzi zankisi zalembeba kwiza diaka kwa yandi.

When she has bathed, nganga takes *munkwisa* creeper and treats the woman with it, defiling [the nkisi] so that she may go with another man. The reason for the river is that this nkisi did not come from the water and does not care to encounter it, it finishes his powers. But since palmwine is not as antagonistic as water it can be substituted when it is just a question of washing everything.

When they compose it, they may get two chickens each, and much food is given to the banganga so that they should be content. This nkisi can bring in money for the banganga whenever they compose it [for someone] or heal [someone] with it.

The medicines used for treatment are these: *nsuudya* leaves, *mungaka*, *dimbuzu*, *lemba-lemba*, *ngubu*. When these have been crushed, they cut up the following: Calabar beans, charcoal, kola nut, *luyala* and *lusaku-saku*. These they cut up very small and put in the medicine, but some are squeezed into the patient's mouth to consecrate him; he drinks them mixed with palmwine. While they are administering this, they say these words: "Heal inside, I heal above! Let him not excrete rotten, smelly material, let him not pass blood. Old Mbuku Mabiala gave us this treatment; he died some time ago, may he send us dreams [?]." Then they take the snail-shell, pour in wine, smear the patient with the clay that is in it, and give him some to drink, repeating the formula as before. Having done that, they repaint white lines on the patient.

The rules to be observed are these: he may not eat animal blood nor *nsuudya* leaves; the edge of a garment may not pass over his body, and if anyone passing by should brush him with his cloth then the one whose garment has been disturbed [goes to nganga, who] takes a little earth and puts it on his shoulder blades and on his feet, then extends his hands before his face so that the wrath of the nkisi should not come upon him again.

Nkisi miamio fisidi nga mu nsumukunu mpila mosi, vo ntima yoyo yina katuka buna nkisi usumukini, kansi mwa diswasani diena mu wau. Vo nkento watumbu nkisi wau una yanga ye bakala diankaka, buna nkisi sumukini. Nganga bu kazolele sungika wo, buna una handisa, vo bwa ko, buna kalendi sadila kodia ko vo buka keti buka. Mwansini [=mwanki] lenda kwandi zokonia mwemo ye vana mbevo. Vo zolele sadila buna banandi baleki minu ko vo weti toma buka, kansi vo zolele, buna fweti tombila banandi nganga madia mpasi batula mpemba yamona ye ntima yamona mbo. Vo mpemba yimeni mpe mu kodia, nganga kalendi tula [ya]mona yalembwa biekwa kwa banandi ko. Vo nkisi wowo wa Nziodi una tulwa va mbazi ye nokono mvula buna weka wa sumuka.

Nkisi wowo wa Nziodi ulenda vandu kwa bakala, nkento wena mu nika mpemba ya nkisi ye mu mukandika mu nkisi wowo wa Nziodi kaka, nganu bakala kaka lenda longuka mpandulu zazo. Nkento kalendi wo buka ko mpe. Wonso weti vanda fweti tambula wo kwa ngudi a nganga ye baka milongo mionso kwa yandi, kidi kasikwa bonso nganga yoyo.

Nganga lutidi vana mina vo nlongo kwa mbevo nganu kwa yandi beni ka miamingi ko, kansi miami: kadie menga ko, kalendi kubwa lusambu lwanlele ko ye nlele wowo mu luketo ko. Vo yandi beni una sumuka, buna una tumisa banganga nandi bamusungika mu mina miomio, nga ti bwa ko kalendi kala ye banandi ntwadi ko. Kansi vo tumisi banandi buna bana mu semba vo kuna bwesa sa bobo ko, balenda dia nsusu zole mu d. dia kadi mu diulu au wo.

Salu mu nkisi wau wa Nziodi mu kwe buki bantu mu yela vo moyo keti mona mpasi ye weti nena bizenge-nzenge ye menga. Mu menga nkisi wau lutidi sadulu mbo mu kandika bakento. Vo bakala kwe yena mwa mikedikedi buna lenda kandikisa wo [nkento] mu nkisi. Vo bakala mona mpasi mu mbula, buna balenda mu buka mu Nziodi.

All minkisi are more or less the same with respect to defilement; if the medical packet falls out, the nkisi is defiled, but in this case there is a small difference. If a woman under the authority of this nkisi should have sexual relations with another man, the nkisi is violated. To cancel the violation nganga must compose the nkisi; if not, he may not use the shell for healing, though he may crush medicines and give them to the patient. If he were to use it, his colleagues would not believe that he was treating properly. If he wants to use it he must provide food for them so that they will put in new white clay and new medicines. Also, if the clay in the shell should be used up, the nganga may not put in new clay that has not been consecrated by his colleagues. If nkisi Nzyodi is put outside and is rained on it is defiled.

This nkisi may be composed by men. Women grind the clay for the nkisi and can be safeguarded by it, but only a man can learn the whole procedure. Nor can a woman heal with it. Whoever wants to compose it must get it from a principal nganga together with all the prohibitions, so that he may be certified by him.

Nganga prescribes the rules or prohibitions for the patient but himself observes only a few, the following: not to eat blood, not to have the edge of his loincloth disturbed. If he himself should be defiled he must send for his brother priests that they may cancel the defilement; if not, he may not associate with them. But if he sends for them they will warn him not to do it again, and then eat a good meal of two chickens.

This nkisi Nzyodi is used to treat people suffering from stomach pains and who pass watery feces and blood. With respect to blood, the nkisi is most used to safeguard women; if the husband is jealous, he may guard his wife by the nkisi. If the husband has pain in his rectum he may be treated with Nzyodi.

WEALTH AND WARFARE

One did not become wealthy in Kongo through agricultural production. Most of the agricultural labour was performed by women. A man needed at least one wife to produce food for his household and children to add to his social importance, but he himself bent most of his energy to becoming wealthy, if he could, through the combined aggressive pursuits of trade, war and hunting. The metaphors used in relation to these activities were similar, and they expressed the view that men's success in them depended in part on avoiding contact with women. A ritual distinction was made, as in nkisi Mbumba, between the blood of killing, with which the warriors are smeared, and

menstrual blood, which they must avoid. The forest, abode of animals and ancestors, was the men's domain; the village and the grasslands were relatively feminine. Women, however, were included among the items of wealth that a successful man might hope to obtain, and which he would then have to protect against the predatory interests of his fellows. A nkisi such as Mwivi, "Thief," was supposed to favor both hunting and the seduction of women (cahier 240).

War charms commonly controlled the rain, at least for the special purpose of producing protective downpours to wash out the enemy attack.

Kinkuma

This nkisi from Mukimbungu, described by Makundu (cahier 252), belongs to a cluster of minkisi linked by their names and functions. Makundu also mentions Kinkuma as an alternative name for another nkisi, Songo (cahier 260), which is reported from Nganda and Lolo, as well as Mukimbungu; in Lolo it also goes by the name Nsonde Ngovo (v. Ngovo). Apparently Ndumba Ntela-ntela (19.1095, 19.1270) is also Kinkuma, although it is said to be for divination, as the name *ntela* suggests (LKD). *Kuma* means "to hunt, pursue."

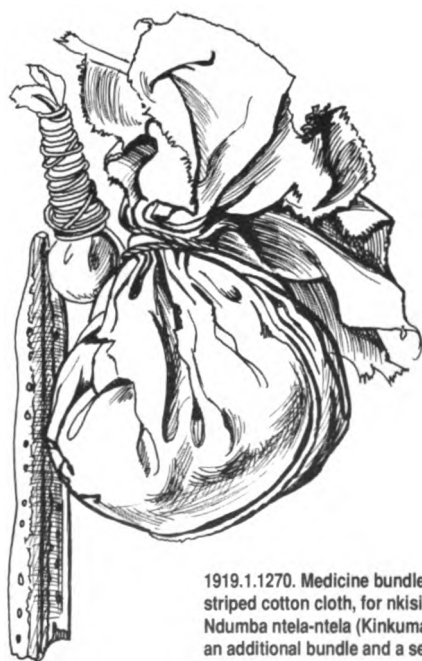
Kinkuma is for hunting, but hunting, divination and possession are conceptually related. Ntungu of Mukimbungu describes a nkisi Kinkuma as causing madness (*kyese*), as does Nsonde Ngovo.



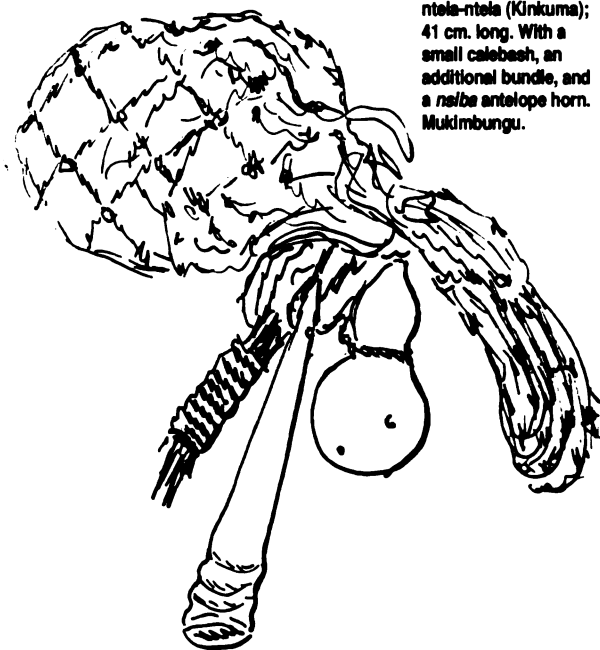
9.1.1194. Medicine bundle for nkisi Kinkuma; 15.5 cm. high. Mukimbungu.

Nkisi a Kinkuma wena ye mambu mandi, i mama: Tala, ngeye wavanda Kinkuma bu wele mu kiba, buna nkento bu kasiidi ku vata, bu kana komba bombe va zikwa, kana nikuna makukwa ko. Kana mpe zibula nzo ku mwelo ye ku nima a nzo ko. Vo luna kwenda ye bayaku mu veta, vo bana kuvitisa va ntu, buna bonga su kyaku wakwika kyo, kidi wenwe vovo ntu wena, ye kuvutukani bula mbembo ye bankaka ko, nate ye lweki vena futa kina vetwa. Bu lweki mpe va ntumbi [nzila a bibulu] aku ya ntete, tolula mwinga aku. Vo una wa muntu una kutela mbila momo veta, nge kutambudi yo. Bu vondele bulu kyaku, buna mbatu bu kina saaswa, buna ngeye una kyo teka tenda mpemba va ntima bulu, mboki bankaka balenda kyo saasa. Bu kimeni mu saasa, tengula buka ye bonga menga va basisidi kyo, kidi wakusa va ntima aku ye londuka kwaku. Nge walembo bo sa, buna sumukini kwaku mpe. Kyasumuka, buna sakumuna dyaka, kidi waluta mu vonda ko.

Nkisi Kinkuma works as follows. Suppose you, who have composed Kinkuma, go on a journey; your wife, left behind in the village, must not disturb the hearth stones when she sweeps up the hearth, nor may she open the front or the back door of the house. When you go hunting with your companions, and they put you in front, take your pipe and light it so that it is foremost. Do not converse with others until you come to the forest in which you are to hunt. When you come to the first animal path, break your pipe. If anyone speaks to you during the hunt, do not reply. When you have killed your beast and it is to be butchered, first mark its chest with chalk, after which others may cut it up. When they have done so, spread out a leaf to catch the blood, that you may rub it on your chest and be reconciled. If you fail to do so, you will be in violation and will have to be reconsecrated before you can successfully hunt again.



1919.1.1270. Medicine bundle in striped cotton cloth, for nkisi Ndumba ntela-ntela (Kinkuma). With an additional bundle and a seed-pod rattle. Mukimbungu.



19.1.1085. Medicine bag for nkisi Ndumba ntela-ntela (Kinkuma); 41 cm. long. With a small calabash, an additional bundle, and a *na/be* antelope horn. Mukimbungu.

LAU

Lau, meaning "luck," is a nkisi for hunting. Two examples in the collection (19.1051, from "Mayombe" [Kinkenge], and 19.485, from Lolo) appear to be entirely different, but the descriptions prove them to be different parts of the same nkisi.

The principal part is a snail-shell with a rattle; the second, a bag full of the bones of game animals. Another example of such a bag is 19.1085, also from Lolo.

We have two texts describing Lau. One, by Babutidi, describes a ritual in which, in essence, an analogy is established between marking the village street, by dragging Lau along it, and marking the spine of individual hunters, "God's highway," with "luck." In the heavily forested areas of northern Kongo, hunting is more important than it is in the south. It is exclusively men's business, not only practically but, as this text shows, ideologically. Successful hunting is a function of the collective solidarity of men uncontaminated by contact with women.

The other text, by Lutete of Lolo, indicates that the nkisi may be used not only in hunting, that is, to "release" game, but also to release someone who has been captured by a hostile village. Release is once again a matter of "bringing down" from a rooftop. The female assistant of the priest of the charm is required to mime the enemy's despondency. The *nlombo* bush is employed because its name implies the "darkness, obscurity" which will aid the prisoner's escape!



19.1.1051. Snail shell and seed-pod rattle, both with medicines inside and out, for nkisi Lau. Mayombe (Kinkenge).

19.1.485. Bundle of animal bones and teeth for nkisi Lau; diameter 48 cm. Lolo.



Babutidi, cahier 15; Kinkenge

Nkisi wowo i kodia ye kiaka. Mu kiaka mwakangwa bilongo ye makazu mboki baledingisa nkuki va zulu ye kanga bio mu nsinga mpasi kabidi sotuka ko. Va mbazi a kodia mpe va namuka bilongo ye makazu ye nkuki mpe. Va nkuki wowo vasanga mpe nsuki zandiona nganga yivendi wo kidi kalotongo ndozi ye zaya mu zaukionso bulu kibalenda vonda. Nkisi usadulwanga mu nyembo mpe.

Mu ngudi a kodia mpe mwanamukwa nkuki mu diambu diamutulwanga malavu mambukila ndiona uzolele baka nyembo.

Va bwala vo muntu kakamani nyembo, buna i ntumbu kwe kubisa suku kwa nganga mambuku mongo evo mbenza evo yonso yonso nganga. Buna vo nganga yoyo sikankamba vo: landa Lau kadi yandiwakusimbidi nyembo, buna yandi i ntumbu telama ye kwenda kwa nganga a nkisi wo. Mboki nganga ntumbu teba lusaku-saku ye sakumuna nkisi wowo. Wau wakangwa mpe bivisi biampila zazonsono zabibulu bianseke ye biamfinda mu nsinga ye kunsongi kwavwikwa nti (nkawa). Buna mu lumbu kiambukulu a ntela, buna ntela zazonsono zena mu bwala bobo i ntumbu kutakana ye simba nti ye mboki kwe koki nkisi wowo wa kimosi babonsono. Bu balweki mu mwanzu [mbongi], buna i ntumbu tubankisi wowo ku nludi ye vutula wo va nsi nalu. Buna vo visi kiakionso bulu kina sotuka mu nkokolo vo ndakulu ankisi wowo kani vo kiambondi, buna si bavova: Bwabu ndokono ku veta kadi mbondi si twavonda.

Landila diodio, nganga una soka malavu mu kodia mwena nkuki ye kwe nwikingye ye bulumuningi ntela zazonsono zikokidi lau va vembo ye va nzila a nzambi.

Bu bakoka nkisi wowo, buna wonso simbidingi nkento mu mpimpa yoyo, kalendi bundana yau ko. Bu bakokanga nkisi wowo, buna bayimbilanga nkunga wau: "E, lau bandiengisie [vetisa], e bandiengisie, e lau diabilongo die e, bandiengisie."

Landila mbukulu, nganga uvananga miswa (miela) kwa bantela ye bau ntumbu kwenda ku mbingu. Vo bavondidi mu veta, buna si basika nkisi au, kansi vo ka bavondidi ko, buna babakulanga ye vovanga vo muntu bedingi nzo ambi, sokani yeto mu nkokolo a nkisi wau i kuma tulembolo vondila.

This nkisi is a snail shell and a rattle. Medicines and kola are fixed in the rattle and then they put resin on top and tie it all with a string so that it does not fall off. On the outside of the shell, too, they stick medicines and kola in resin. In this package they put hairs of the nganga who is composing the nkisi so that he may dream dreams and see whatever animal there is to kill. The nkisi also brings luck.

A packet of medicines is also stuck inside the shell where palmwine is put to treat anyone who wants to acquire luck.

In the village, if a man finds his luck has run out, he fixes a day with the nganga of Ma Mbuku Mongo, nganga Mbenza, or some other nkisi. The nganga tells him, "go for Lau, for it is he who is holding up your luck." So the man goes to find the nganga Lau. The nganga cuts up *lusaku-saku* and blesses his nkisi. Bones of all kinds of forest and savanna animals are tied up in a net and fixed to the point of a baton. On the day when the hunter is to be treated, all the hunters in the village gather together, take hold of the baton and drag the nkisi all at once. When they reach the men's house [of the village], they put the nkisi on the roof and suddenly drop it down again. If the bone of any animal, such as a wildcat, falls out during the dragging or dropping of the nkisi, they say, "Now let's go hunting, because we will kill wildcat."

After that, nganga pours palmwine into the shell that has the medicine packet on it, and gives a little to each of the hunters to drink who dragged the Lau, with a few drops on their shoulders and on the spine, "God's highway."

After they have dragged the nkisi, nobody who embraces a woman that night may join with them. When they drag it, they sing this song: "They have sent Lau hunting, Lau with medicines."

After the treatment, nganga gives the hunters a blessing and they go off hunting. If they kill game, they applaud their nkisi; if not, then what they believe and say is that someone had sexual intercourse and spoiled the dragging of their nkisi and that's why no kill.

Kansi tekila nkokolo ankisi, buna nganga uteka bingulanga vo: E, mbazi mene kia koka lau buna babonsono i ntumbu lubuka ye widi ntela nkutu ka yilendi valakala nkento mu fuku diodio ko kakidi sumuna nkisi ye kondwa nyembo.

Nkisi wowo ulenda kokwa mpe mu diambu dia mintambu miao vo ka mieti vutuka baka bibulu mu ntangu yoyo ko. Bu beti wo koka mpe vo bamweni visi kimosi kisotukini, buna i ntumbu zaya vo nyembo au uvutukidi ye buna mintambi miamionsono i ntumbu mwangana mu matiti mu kwe tadi ntambu miao ye vo babeki, buna i ntumbu kio toma kabasana babonsono ye vana nama kiakulu kwa nganga lau nga vo ka bwa ko, buna lumbu kibavutukidi bindama, kalendi kubasadisa ko.

Lutete, cahier 231; Lolo

Nkisi wau wena ndambu zole, ndambu yankaka mu vondila bibulu vo nyembo wazikama buna mu ntangu ivanduanga batebanga nkanda mia bibulu biabionsono ye bana zieta mpe mu zimfinda mu bonga zitambi za bulu biabionsono zau zina tulwa vakati kwa nsinga mia nianga buna kionso bulu kina vetwa vo bakama mu ntambu buna bana sieta nsinga nianga, vo kia nketo buna mu ndambu ya lumoso vo kiambakala buna mu ndambu yalubakala. Mu lumbu kiakuenda ku sikingi vungu mbingu buna mu fuku beti kue mu mafula mamonsono.

But before the dragging, nganga first warns, "Say, tomorrow is the day for *koka lau*, so all of you pay attention to this, no hunter may snuggle up to a woman during the night or he will pollute the nkisi and lack luck."

This nkisi may also be dragged if their traps are no longer bringing in a return. They watch to see if a bone falls while they are dragging it, then they know that their luck has returned, and disperse through the bush to see to their traps. If they get anything, they divide it all amongst them and give a leg to nganga Lau. If they did not, then the next time they were in trouble he wouldn't help them.

This nkisi is in two parts. One is for hunting game, should the luck be out. When it is composed they use the skins of all kinds of animals and also seek the footprints of animals in the forests. These are put in a net made of roofing grass (*Imperata cylindrica*). Then whatever animal they hunt, or which is caught in a trap, will be tangled in a cord; if a female, on its left side, if a male, on its right. The day they are to hunt, then at night they play horns at all the entrances to the village.

19.1.1085. Bag of animal bones, teeth and shells for nkisi Lau; 30 cm. high. Lolo.



Ndambu yanzole i mu vulusa muntu wakangwa nkole buna kuenda ku mfinda bana kuenda vo tumuna nlombo bana wo kanga va nkunga nzo bakento babakala bana kuiza wo ziolanga bu umeni dimwa buna babo bameni dia mbati, buna mu kina lumbu nkole wabakama ku buala bwankaka una tina kwandi. Ibila bavandilanga wo mu nsinga wa nlombo, buna mpe nkazi ankisi una vwanda va nsinga wowo ye una sa fumanu, i mpila mosi bantu bana kala madungi-madungi nkole bu yitinini. Kiokio i lendo kia nkisi.

The second part of the nkisi is to release a captive. They go to the forest, uproot a *nlombo* bush and tie it to the ridgepole of a house; then the men and women come and pull it off. When it has been brought down, they all secure their loincloths. On that day, the one who has been imprisoned in another village will be able to escape. That's why they make the charm with *nlombo* fiber, and why the priestess sits on the net expressing sadness, to represent the disappointment of the people who will have lost their prisoner. This is the power of the nkisi.

Mbumba (Lolo)

Laman describes Mbumba as having many functions, including those of Nkiduku, a nkisi that protects in war and controls rain (LKM:102). According to the texts, however, the Mbumba from Lolo (19.576), which has these functions, differs from the Mbumba of Kingoyi in every respect except its name.

The "technical" style of Lwamba's writing is a good example of the adoption by the Kongo ethnographers of a European genre for their work. In detail the text responds to Laman's questionnaire; it fails, however, to be very interesting. The connection between warfare and rain is that a downpour prevents fighting, particularly if firearms are being used. The dark cloth on the nkisi metaphorically suggests rain; the mirror is used to detect which of the warriors may be vulnerable, as the text explains. The ritual associates men positively with the blood of killing, dissociates them from the menstrual blood of women.

The Museum also has another nkisi from Lolo, called Mbumba Mpiakele (19.1070), which is apparently similar to Mbumba from Kingoyi (19.589) but lacks documentation.



19.1.576. Anthropomorphic figurine, with medicine pack on the back of the head; woven box, goatskin, other packaging; for nkisi Mbumba. Figurine is 50 cm. long. Lolo.

Mbangudulu. Mbumba Nzeka umuzeka bantu bana kwiza kwa ngeye. Vo bana kukana, buna vaana vova: Nzeka yo ye Mbumba i mu nokisa zimvula. Buna wonso una kana kwa beno una lembana. Nkiduku i mu kidika bantu bana kwenda ku nwana mvita ye bwala mpe.

Wavwandwa mu dyambu dya nwana nzingu. Kadi va kanda dina, bu bana nwana mvita fwa kingi, i kuma bavanda wo ye mu taanwa mu nsi zangana.

Lunitu. Mu teke. Byena mu ngudi: Mu nitu lumweno ye tuula tendele kya bundi va ntandu ye minkanda mya nkombo ya mpembe ya mbakala ye ntimu ku kosi ye zinsala za nkodi kuna ntu.

Fulu kyandi mu nzo mu zulu ledika.

Bu kavandwa babingi bakutakana - vata diamvimba - ye bavonda nkombo yoyo, bakela menga mu yobisa nitu andi yayoo. Kindungu kyakwana, bakina na mu mafula veekila.

Minlongo: Ngeye bakala kuna kota ku nzo a futa ko ye mu dia bilambulu ku nzo a futa ye mayimba ye bitiba ye zinkala za nlangu mu vela nsafu.

Lulendo lwandi mu dyambu dya nwana nzingu. Buna ku ndambu eno muntu mpasi mu teelo badika bina tuuka mu ndambu yankaka, ye muntu mpasi mu fwa. Ulenda vaana lendo mu nokisa mvula vo zolele kwenda kiba ku vata dyangana, buna mvula yina noka. Bantu bana swama mu nzo zau ye ntantu ulenda vyoka evo bantu mpe bana kwenda mu sala. Wena lendo mu kubakeba kuna mavimpi. Vo mvula zasiidi noki ko, buna wena lendo mu nokisa mvula.

Bilongo bina sadulwa: Semo ye lusaku-saku ye tondi. Boosi una bonga nkisi bena tuula bantu baboo nlonga ye kubatala va lumweno ye vo tukuna mooko ye butama: A, mbote susa vana. Wankaka una vingana mpila mosi. Buna una bonga nkisi ye lumba wo va ntulu zau natu-, tu. Baboo baba sa bobo.

Minlongo mya nkisi: Ka luna dia byalambulu ku nzo a futa ko ye bitiba ye mayimba ko.

Nkisi ulenda sumuka vo nkento wena ku nzo a futa una vyokila ku mbusa nzo, ye wonso diidi una kota mu nzo yoyo una sumuka mpe ye nlongo myankaka.

Ulenda vedila dyaka. Ngudi a nganga una sakumuna wo dyaka. Bana yimbila ye kina ye vanga myemo mu vaana kwa baana ba nganga ye vonda nsusu ye yobisa wo dyaka.

Explanation. "Mbumba Nzeka misleads people who are coming for you" [praise name]. If they are after you, you say, "The Twister! and Mbumba, who makes it rain." Then whoever is threatening you will desist. Nkiduku is to "protect" those going to war, and the village too.

It is composed on account of warfare. Among these people they compose it if there have been too many deaths, or defeats by others.

Body. A figurine. Inside it: on the body, a mirror; and they put a scrap of dark cloth above, and pieces of the hide of a white he-goat, with a medicine pack on the back of the head.

It is kept hung up in the roof of the house.

When it is composed many people gather - the whole village; they kill the goat and draw off the blood to rub all over their bodies. When the *ndungu* drum sounds, they dance all over the village.

Rules. A man may not enter a menstruation hut nor eat food that has been cooked there. Nor may he eat *yimba* or *tiba* bananas, or crabs with *nsafu*.

The power of the nkisi is related to war, as when your side is under fire from another and someone may die. It can give power to cause rain if you want to scout someone else's village. People can hide in their houses or go to work while the enemy passes by [without seeing them]. It keeps you healthy. If there is a drought, it can bring rain.

Medicines used: *semo*, *lusaku-saku* and *tondi* mushroom. They take all the men, line them up and look at each one in the mirror, or hold out their hands: he who shakes stays behind. Then another takes his place in the same way. They take the nkisi and strike every man on the chest with it, tu! tu!

Rules of the nkisi: you may not eat *tiba* or *yimba* bananas nor food cooked by a menstruating woman.

The nkisi is defiled should a woman who is in the menstruation house pass behind it, or should anyone break one of the other rules.

It can be purified. The senior nganga can bless it again. They sing, dance, prepare medicines to give to the apprentices, and kill a chicken to wipe themselves with.

Nganga a nkisi bakala vo bole. Nkumbu nkatu. Nkisi bu umeni vanda, buna una byekwa. Tanga-tanga byabyo bu bimeni vaanwa ye nsaku andi, bu kameni tonda, buna una vova: Luwilu e. E luwilu e. E nkisi utudidi mu mooko mandi, e kuku myo. Nganga una kuvaana nkisi beni, ye una wa nlongo myamyo myayenda mu nkisi beni.

Minlongo mya nganga mu dyambu dya nkisi: Toma keba minlongo. Kuna vilakana nlongo a nkisi ko, buna usumukini. Buna nganga una keba minlongo, kadi wau wena nkisi wa mpaka mu vetana mu mvita ye mu kenga vata dya mvimba. Tiina dia mayimba ye bitiba ye tiina ku nzo a futa kota. Nganga ulenda veeduswa kwa ngudi a nganga dyaka wilu. Bonso mu bwela kumvangila bonzo mu kunnwika dyaka.

Salu kyandi mu buka ye nyakisa zimbevo ye mu kingana ki kalongo.

Diswaswana mpe dyena kwa ngudi a nganga. Yandi una vwa nkisi ye mu mbukulu ye mu minsaku myau mina vaana bantu, bu beti buku. Bamaduka balenda buka kwau, kansi mpasi mu vandisa wo kwa bankaka.

One or two men are the priests of the nkisi; they have no special name. When it has been composed, they are initiated. When the master's fee and whatever he asks for have been handed over and he has approved them, he says: "Have you heard? The nkisi has been put in your hands. You have been given the nkisi and have heard all the rules.

Rules to be observed by the nganga: keep all the rules. If you forget one, the nkisi will be defiled. The nganga will keep the rules because this is a mean nkisi for fighting in war and to guard the whole village. Avoid eating *mayimba* and *bitiba* bananas, and do not enter a menstruation hut. The nganga can be purified by a senior nganga, who prepares a potion for him to drink.

The work of the nkisi is to treat and heal the sick and to uphold the rules.

The senior nganga is different. He owns the nkisi and knows the treatments and the fees he is to receive from patients. His assistants can heal, but not compose the nkisi for others.

Mpanzu

Mpanzu is another name for Nduda (q.v.). The Lolo example is in the form of a pair of similar, handled bags, one "male" (19.1182), the other "female" (19.1173). Normally these should contain white and red clay, respectively (LKIII:150). Each is closed with a twisted ring slipped over the handles. The female one, which is in better condition than the male, is made of a cotton cloth stuffed into a net bag in order to hold a quantity of powdered and broken material. The cloth, a European trade material, red with a printed pattern, is also used in Nkoko Bondo (q.v.), also from Lolo. Inside is another older and dirtier cloth. Attached to the outside are powder-filled "night guns," for shooting witches, that are also characteristic of Nduda.

The male Mpanzu, made in the same way but much smaller, is beginning to disintegrate; the main item of its content is a palmtree made into a medicinal body by having resin applied to it.



1919.1.1182. Netbag containing cloth bundle of medicines for nkisi Mpanzu, male version; 14 x 5.5 cm. Lolo.

Most of Laman's account (LKIII:150-51, beginning "In other places," meaning in Lolo) is taken from Lwamba (cahier 240). Lwamba answers Laman's questionnaire in a perfunctory and repetitive manner, though his description seems to fit the Museum's objects. Laman's opening paragraph, however, is an inadequate summary of a brief but intriguing description by Lutangu; this is one of the *minkisi* whose power derives specifically from ancestral graves. Snakes, especially the harmless green snake, are presences of the ancestors.

Lutangu, cahier 240; Lolo

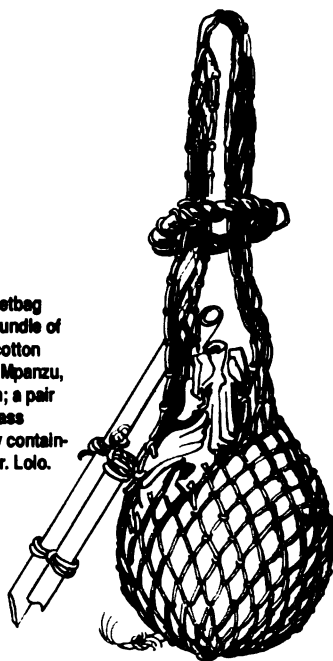
Mpanzu i nkisi ukalanga mu kinkungu, wau mpe bu uvandwanga, buna ku bizyami ye bana nwana mvita ye bafwa mu kota mu bizyami. Kansi nganga zole zina bedisa bafwa, uvandulwanga va ntandu a zyami kyazyama mfumu yakala ngolo. Yina ntangu mwana a nganga una kangwa kwa bafwa.

Sinsu byole kaka byena vo una kwenda mu koola mbeevo: Kana mona muntu mu nzila ko, ku mfinda kana mona nyoka ko. Buna vutukidi, yandi mpe una mona bafwa kuna bizyami ku bana toma nkisi.

Mpanzu is a nkisi in a basket. When it is composed, they go to the cemetery and fight a battle with the dead to enter it. But two nganga defeat the dead and compose [the nkisi] on the grave of a powerful man. At this time the apprentice is tied by the dead.

There are two bad signs to watch for when [nganga] goes to treat a patient: he should not meet anyone on the way, nor see a snake in the forest. On his return, he must see the dead in the cemetery to repair the nkisi.

1919.1.1173. Netbag containing a bundle of medicines in cotton cloth for nkisi Mpanzu, female version; a pair of elephant-grass tubes formerly containing gunpowder. Lolo.

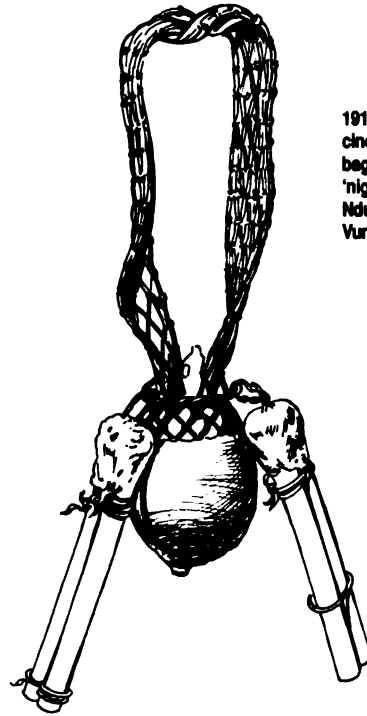


Nduda

Nduda, in the form of a small bag with "guns" attached to it, was a popular nkisi of which there are several examples not only in the Museum but also in the Ethnographic Museum, Goteborg. LKM has no entry for Nduda as such, but several for Mpanzu, an alternative name (q.v.). Laman tells us that Nduda is recognized by the small sculptures, with which the medicine bag was associated (LKIII:150). His description of the bag (pp.150-51), a portable form of the nkisi for warriors, is taken from cahier 240, by Lwamba, from Lolo.

Laman's examples of both Nduda and Mpanzu come from the upper Ludima valley ("Mayombe"). In #19.505, the guns, made of stalks of elephant grass filled with gunpowder, are attached to the figurine, whose arm is upraised in the threatening gesture often shown by Nkondi; the hand once held a spear. Attached to the large medicine pack on the stomach of the figure is a mirror, presumably used to tell which warriors were at risk in the forthcoming battle.

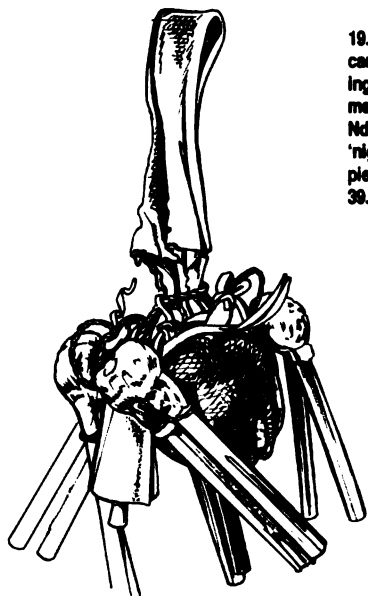
The knitted bag, #19.1054, is stuffed with little packets of medicines; it is very smoky from hanging in the owner's house. The bag #19.1091 is made of striped European trade cloth. Most of the inside is filled with a *dibu* pod, about the size of a baseball, which has been cut open like a bowl, filled with medicines and sealed. The bag also contains a very black strip of cotton cloth tied in a knot. The three extra bundles tied to the handle of the bag were once red. Bag #19.519 contains a similar pod; a bell hangs among the guns on the outside, and a piece of hide of some animal is around the neck of the bag.



1919.1.1054. Medicines in net carrying bag, with attached 'night guns,' for nkisi Nduda; 30 x 6.5 cm. Vungu.



19.1.1091. Cotton carrying bag for *dibu* pod filled with medicines and a piece of black cotton cloth for nkisi Nduda; vegetable rattles stitched to the bottom, and three additional, red bundles; 41 cm. Kloba.



19.1.519. Raffia carrying bag containing *dibu* pod of medicines for nkiai Nduda; attached 'night guns,' iron bell, piece of animal hide; 39.5 cm. Vungu.



1919.1.1263. Anthropomorphic figurine for nkiai Nduda, belly pack of medicines. Mayombe.



19.1.505. Anthropomorphic, male figurine for nkiai Nduda; belly pack of medicines, with mirror, right arm raised as though holding a weapon; attached pair of night guns and a *nsibe* antelope horn; wrapping around the feet, additional medicine pack missing from the head. Kloba.

Babutidi, cahier 17; Kinkenge

Nkisi wowo i kiteki kiavalwa. Va ntima akiau vatulwa makaya ye bilongo, i nsaku-nsaku, bidiba ye mvutu biau biasangwa mu nsi a nkuki ye bialadukwa va ntulu a teki. Mvwatu andi i lubongo; lwakangwa mu nsinga ampusu. Vo muntu zolele wo vanda buna si kenda ye nganga va ntandu a ndiamu. Bu balweki vo, i ntumbu kanga lulembe mu minti mboki si babadika teba bilongo ye ngudi ye mwana nganga ye si bavila [vinga] bio mu kiteki, mboki intumbu basula (veta) nkumbula zole. Buna si basisa nkisi wowo ku ndiamu ye vutuka kwau ku bwala. Bila kiansisulu ankisi wowo ku ndiamu kidi balekikisa bantu minu vo babiniumba bavididi wo nkuki ngoloko [kiongono] bau veka. Mu nsuka bavutukanga mu kwe landi nkisi wowo buna mpe si bateka veta nkumbula mosi, mboki si babonga kiteki ye vutula kio ku bwala.

Nkisi wowo kausadulwanga mu buka bantu ko kansi usadulwanga kaka mu mvita mpasi bantu kabidi fwa evo telo bibadika ko. Lumbu kiangiendolo au ku mvita, binwani biabionsono si biateka kwenda kwa nganga Nduda kidi nganga kabondika munkwisa vana va bakomina nkisi wowo ye si kadovika nlembo va nteke ye sonika muntu-muntu mu nto zameso ye va mbulu mboki se bakwenda.

Bu beti kwenda, buna nganga si kabindika kiteki va mfwokolo mboki si katekila binwani kuntwala ye biau i ntumbu kunlanda; se nganga weti kwe nikuni nkayi [=nsiba] (mbambi) nate ye bambasudi mboki binwani intumbu vioka kuntwala ye nwana ye nbakani zau. Buna bau kabalendi telo vo fwa ko mu diambu dianduda yoyo yibakebidi. Bu beti kwenda, buna nganga si kabindika kiteki va mfwokolo mboki si katekila binwani kuntwala ye biau i ntumbu kunlanda; se nganga weti kwe nikuni nkayi [=nsiba] (mbambi) nate ye bambasudi mboki binwani intumbu vioka kuntwala ye nwana ye nbakani zau. Buna bau kabalendi telo vo fwa ko mu diambu dianduda yoyo yibakebidi.

This nkisi is a carved sculpture. In its "heart" [medical packet] leaves are placed, *lusaku-saku*, *diba* mushrooms and *mvuutu*. These are mixed under the resin and stuck on the chest of the statue, which wears a raffia wrap tied with a cord. If someone wants to compose the nkisi he goes with the nganga to the cemetery. When they arrive they make an enclosure of palm branches and begin to prepare medicines. The nganga and his apprentice put them into the statue and then fire off two shots. They then leave the nkisi on the grave and return to the village. The reason why the nkisi is left is that it leads people to believe that the ghosts themselves complete the medicine packet. The next morning they return to fetch their nkisi, first firing a shot. They take the statue and return it to the village.

This nkisi is not used to heal people but only in war, so that men should not be killed or hurt by bullets. The day they are to go to war, all the fighters go first to the nganga of Nduda, that he may soak *munkwisa* [creeper] [in water] at the place where they invoke the nkisi, dip his finger in the mud and mark every man with it at the corners of his eyes and on the forehead; then they depart.

As they go, the nganga ties the nkisi in his loincloth and goes ahead of the warriors, they following him. Nganga shakes his whistle until they overtake him and pass in front to fight with their opponents. They cannot be hurt or wounded because of the Nduda they have acquired. As they go, the nganga ties the nkisi in his loincloth and goes ahead of the warriors, they following him. Nganga shakes his whistle until they overtake him and pass in front to fight with their opponents. They cannot be hurt or wounded because of the Nduda they have acquired.

Ngovo

Ngovo (19.764, from Kiobo; LKIII:121) is made up in the horn of a buffalo, a very dangerous animal that attacks and kills without provocation. *Ngovo* means "enormous force" (LKD). The only texts for Ngovo are a brief paragraph by Makundu of Mukimbungu (cahier 259), another by Lutete of Lolo (cahier 231). Lutete says that it is invoked when a village has lost its hunting luck. The men pass the horn between their legs, repeat the process at the edge of the village, and then collect earth from animal tracks in the forest to put in the horn (*zikomwanga mu ngudi a mpoka*). There is also the following, by Lunungu of Nganda (cahier 159), which, though from a somewhat distant region, does describe a similar object. The chalk described in the text is visible inside the nkisi. The resin-pack of medicines on the outside of the horn, surmounted by a cowrie shell, shows traces of red. The raffia strips in which the horn has been wrapped have been cut and bound at the ends before being tied on, as though they were feathers. In the middle of the horn, under the "feathers" (which stick to it), is a second medicine pack.

Ngovo is similar in function, though not in form, to Nsonde Ngovo, from the same region (19.1145, from Lolo). Nsonde Ngovo consists of an outer net bag made of



19.1.764. Buffalo horn medicated with medicine packs, strips of raffia cloth, for nkisi Ngovo; 43.5 cm. Kiobo.



19.1.1145. Medicines for nkisi Nsonde Ngovo, including a quantity of red camwood powder, in a raffia bag itself wrapped in European cloth and contained in a net bag made of European string; diameter 22.5 cm. Lolo.

European string; the inner bag is made of a checkered European trade cloth, predominantly red in color. The whole thing leaks red camwood. Inside the cloth bag is a woven raffia bag whose contents include a label, *Mavosi a bivotika*, attached to a pair of unusual plaited constructions (which is what the name apparently means), each about 5 cm. long. On a similar scale, there is a miniature plaited bag with a carrying handle. Other ingredients are various rag bundles, a bagworm cocoon, *kyala moko* seeds, and a large fan-shaped shell. All this is described somewhat perfunctorily by Lwamba of Lolo (cahier 240). He indicates that Nsonde is very much a nkisi for the successful, who celebrate its powers by eating and drinking together on *nsona* days, while wishing upon their adversaries such disasters as to fall out of a tree, to cut themselves, or to be caught in adultery. The invocation (*nkomonono a nloko*) of the nkisi includes burning bird's nests (*madyanza ma zinuni*) at the entrance to the village; this brings madness upon wrongdoers. The nkisi, as a source of madness (*kyese*), may not be danced for. If it is desecrated, it may not be handled by a man, only by a woman.

Ngovo i nkisi waunene wanyembo. Mpandulu ya ndungu ye nkunga. Nkunga wena bonso bwabu: Tuutano mbondi, mbondi bulu kya mpaka. E, yaaya, tuutano mbondi, mbondi bulu kya mpaka.

Mboki mu mpandulu ya mpila yoyo mu lumbu bya mpandulu, buna bantu bingi mu tala ye kina ye nwa malavu, kadi bonso nkungi. Nkinuni ye ndungu yikalanga, bu beti teba bilongo ye bu meni vandu mu lumbu ki umeni vo nganga zolele. Bu umeni vandu, buna usiungu mu vungu dya mpakasa bina soko mu vungu dyodyo i luvemba, i lolo luna biku mfusa za nkisi. Ka wena nlongo ko, kadi ka ubukungu ko. Langa nate ye muntu ubwa mu ba, buna mboki sikatuutulu bonzo dya nkisi wowo.

Nsadusu a nkisiwowo kwa bantu i mu kubatuula kaka nyembo. Nkyangunu vo muntu zolele ba nyembo, buna ukwizanga kwa nganga ye baka myemo vo yobila ye nwa mfusa za nkisi. Vo zolele ba nyembo mu tamba mbizi, buna yobila ye nwa mfusa, kansi ti nkento zolele ba kinitu kya mbongo zikunungu, buna tambula myemo kwa nganga mu mwanga mu mfuba kiyatoma buta. Makaya ma basadilanga mu tuta miemo i makaya ma mbondi ye tunama-nama ye tubata-bata, lemba-ntoko, munkwiza, i byobyoby basadilanga banganga.

Mu ntangu ya bakulu, buna mpandulu ya nkisi yakala ntalu, kadi nkisi myabanzulu ye mibanzulungu kwa zinganga za bwabu vo ndilu au vo mbakulu au. Nkyangunu batambulanga mbatu ngulu ye mbatu ta mboki nkombo.

Ngovo is an important nkisi that confers good fortune, composed with *ndungu*-drums and songs, such as the following: "Pound the leaves of *mbondi* [a small tree], *mbondi* wildcat, the fierce beast, eh yaya!"

On the day of the composition many come to watch, dance, and drink, as at a festival, while the medicines are being prepared. When they are ready they are put in the horn of a buffalo together with chalk, the kind that is called the "powder" of the nkisi. It has no taboos, because it does not heal. Only if a man should fall from a palm tree, they pound up the potion of this nkisi.

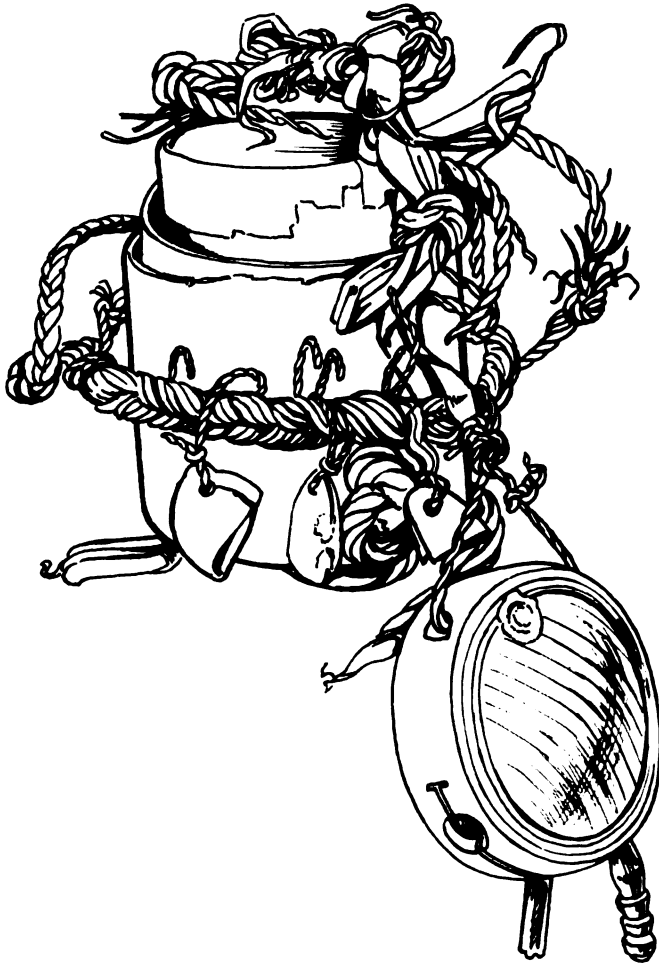
What it does for people is to give them luck. One who wants to acquire this capacity comes to the nganga, takes the medicines and drinks or rubs on the powder. If he wants the luck to trap game he is rubbed with the chalk-powder and drinks some of it, but if a woman wants it for her gardening, she obtains from the nganga a medicine of *mbondi*-leaves, *tunama-nama* leaves [which stick to clothing], *tubata-bata* [a plant with flat leaves that spreads over the earth; *Costus spectabilis*], *lemba-ntoko*, and *munkwiza*-creeper to spread on her field.

In the old days this nkisi was expensive because it was highly thought of, and esteemed by the banganga as a source of income. They might charge as much as a goat or a pig for it.

Nkengele

The Museum's example of this nkisi is in a very poor state of preservation (a somewhat better example exists in Goteborg, #16.14.135). Nkengele is a war nkisi from Lolo, for which we have only a brief description by Lutete (cahier 231). It consists of a bark box (*lukobe*), with lid, which is now empty; it was composed in a ritual at the edge of the village, where for the purpose two wooden figures were placed. Afterwards the box was wrapped in

a blue *bundi* cloth. In the second phase or miraculous manifestation (*nlunguzi*) of the ritual, everybody in the village was assembled and a gun was loaded with twelve bullets to make a big explosion. Associated with the box is a plaited band, a sort of necklace, to which are attached rattles and a *dibu* bell. The *nganga* puts a creeper, *tubungu*, in the village's menstruation hut when the men go off to war; concealing the cord is as it were to hide the men.



19.1.1171. Bark box, 13 cm. high, formerly containing medicines for ritual *Nkangale*; wooden *dibu* bell and seed rattles, attached to a cord. Also a piece of animal fur rolled in a tube and tied with string, to which is attached a strip of cotton cloth and a raffia cord. Lolo.

Nkiduku

Nkiduku from Kingoyi (19.1275) is a bundle of cords, many with knots in them, held together with a wire-like material (*lubamba?*) and attached to a snail shell. Raffia cords are mentioned in each of the following recipes. Another example from the same region (19.1305) is very different, in that it consists of a small bundle wrapped in banana leaf and enclosed in a roughly-made net.

Laman's text (LKIII:128) is a mixture of cahier 27, by Demvo, cahier 98, by Kionga, and other material. Nkiduku both offers protection in war and brings rain; the connection between these two functions may be that flint-lock guns malfunction in wet weather. Mafula (cahier 245) tells us that Nkiduku was soaked in water and buried at the approach to the village; when the enemy passed over it their guns would misfire.

Demvo, cahier 27; Kinkenge

Nkiduku ya mu kisa. Nkiduku yayi yena ntwadulu mosi ye Mutinu mamba, kansi bavambana mu dyambu dya wakulumuna mvula. Nkiduku wena mu kisa ye makodya. Vo nganga Nkiduku una yobila mu nlangu, buna mvula yina noka evo kinzu kina tuulwa mu nlangu, yina noka. Bila, kadi mu ntangu Nkiduku bu katomboka mu nlangu, buna tembo kia ngolo ye mvula yakala ye mimbamina. Nkadulu nga yakala mu mpaikulu Mutinu mu nlangu. Muntu bu kamona bo i ntumbu bonga kisa kyokyo ye wanata kyo ku vata ye wabadika kamba bayandi bonso kamona kyo. Buna bayandi i ntumbu yituku beni ye ta kwa yandi vo: Nkisi wowo wizi landi Mutinu ye nlongo myau mimosi, kansi wau si kabikwa Nkiduku.

Mu wau mwena vo muntu weti beela ye weka lukufi ye fwa, buna bana saka nsala za nsusu ye syeta zo mu nsinga wa nsinga, mboko ni kanga wo mu kuulu kwaminkento, mpasi kalembwa yika fwa vo muntu beti vingila wayenda kita evo ni fundu dyakwenda nandi bana kwesaki, i kuma bakangila musinga wowo.

Nkiduku in a pot. This Nkiduku is of the same type as Mutinu Mamba, but different in that it brings rain. It is contained in a pot and snail-shells. If the priest of Nkiduku bathes in water, or if he puts a pot into water, it will rain. This happens because when Nkiduku was brought up from the water there was a great storm with rain and thunder. Its origin was the same as when Mutinu came up out of the water. When the person saw it he took the pot and brought it to the village and told his people how he had seen it, whereupon they were much astonished and said to him, "This nkisi has followed Mutinu, and its rules are the same, but this one will be called Nkiduku."

In this nkisi, if someone is ill and near death they take chicken feathers, tie them up in fibers, and rub them over their left legs so that he may not die. They tie on this cord if they are waiting for someone to return from a trading journey or they are expecting a funeral present from him [?].

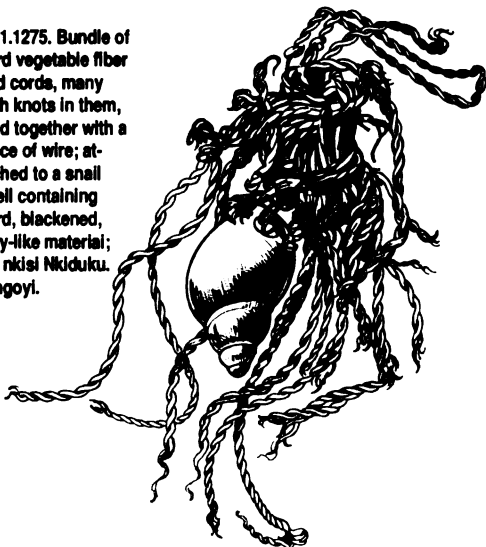
Mbo mpe ti mvita yibwidi mu vata, buna bakubika mwemo u bana mwanga vata dya mvimba, mpasi balembwa lwala mu mvita ye vondo. Bu beele, buna bakento beti sala boki ye ta: Mamba, mamba, mamba, bakubula bikuku ye bu beti bandimina kwenzi babakala ye kondo mataba ku taku.

Nga Nkiduku mu mabanza bata mpe vo: Mu Nkiduku tulenda zinga ye baka mvu ku ntu. Nganu kalendi andi tuukisa mbongo kwa nganga beni ko, kansi mwa lufuku lwa mpumbu kwandi basanga mboko mwa madia ma badianga.

Kionga, cahier 98; Kingoyi

Nkiduku. Wena nkumbu yoyo kaka. Mbo lekwa byena mu kisa byabi: Baka kimbiti ye makolo ma mpusu, mbo bana tuula mpila mosi kibaka va kati ye swasisa ndambu ye ndambu yankaka ya babakala yankaka ya bakento. Bonso bu kavandulwa. Baala banganga bana baka dikonde dimosi nsusu mosi ye kimbiti. Mbo bu bameni byo tuula, buna kubika tiya ye yanza mamo-nsono ye yoka byo. Mbo bu byamana via bina diwa, i kilambu kya yoko. Dyaka bana baka bidiu ye malamumu ye dia. Mbo bana toona, buna bana sa vo: Kaba-kaba:- Kaba. Bwa ngudi a nganga. Kaba-kaba:- Kaba. Bwa bwa baala ba nganga: Kaba-kaba:- Kaba. Bwabu bakulu vwandu e i-e ngenge-ngenge.

19.1.1275. Bundle of hard vegetable fiber and cords, many with knots in them, held together with a piece of wire; attached to a snail shell containing hard, blackened, clay-like material; for nkisi Nkiduku. Kingoyi.



Also if there is a war in the village they take chalk [and medicine] and spread it all over the village [both the people and the ground], so that they may not be wounded or killed. When [the warriors] have departed, the women cry aloud: "Water! water! water!" They clap their hands and insult the men, turning their bare buttocks toward them.

It is also said that through Nkiduku one may live long, and have gray hair. It doesn't bring in much money for its priest, but he gets a small fee and a share of the food eaten.

Nkiduku has no other name. The things in the pot are these: take a kimbiti frog and knots of raffia, put a sort of wall in between and divide it into male and female halves. This is how it is composed. The nganga's assistants take a plantain, a chicken and a frog, prepare a fire, pull them to pieces and roast them to eat. Then again they accept things to eat and palmwine. With the nganga they recite [the following responses]:

"Divide and share? Share!"

"To the chief nganga, his share; to the apprentices, their share."

"This is the place of the ancestors."



1919.1.1305. Medicine bundle in banana leaf, contained in net bag; 10 x 4 cm. For nkisi Nkiduku, Kingoyi.

Nkunga myami: E mpyokidi kwami kinganga ko, meno nganga bakananga, Meno nkyekolo, meno nganga yayoo, mvula ndoolo wasa dibungi.

Nkiduku ka yibukwanga ko, kansi siba kaka, bu bana kwenda mu mvita. Vo bana kwenda mu mvita, bana kila mpemba va vata dya mvimba va ntoto ye bantu kibeni, mbo bana vitula kisa ndambu zazole ya bakento ye babakala, kidi vo bana nwa kansi bu vitula kisa vo bana mona fulu va ntandu ye vo fulu dina kala lukufi ye konguka, buna bana zaya vo muntu una lwala evo fwa.

Mbo bana zokonya mabonzo ye siba bonso ena: Komuna makome mu kisa. Mbo bakento ye babakala bana sa va kimosi. Mbazi ti, mbazi kwandi bavyokidi. Ti bavyokidi twabalanda, tubwesa bakila ko. Vo mpemba yina mana ye mukomo ye mubindu bina monika, buna kisa kina baasuka ye fwa, nkyangunu bana kubika kisa kyankaka mbo ulenda vutuka ngolo dyaka.

These songs:

"I have surpassed in magic, I nganga forbid them, I nganga disappear in heavy rain and darkness."

Nkiduku does not heal, it is only invoked, when they go to war. Preparing for war, they put chalk marks all over the village, on the ground and on the people themselves. Then they take the pot to drink out of it on two sides, the men and the women; but if, when they take it up, they see foam on the top and it seems ready to clump together, they know someone will die or be wounded.

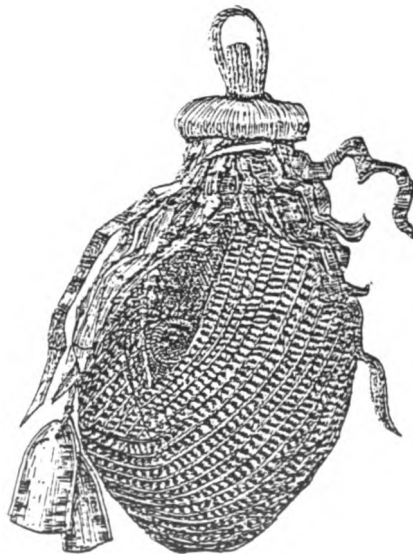
They crush the *bonzo* medicine and take oath by rapping the pot with their knuckles, both men and women together, saying "Tomorrow they will go past, shall we follow? Let us catch up with them." If the chalk [in the pot] should be finished and the frog and the *mubindu* should be exposed, the pot will split, and will have to be replaced to renew the force of it.

Nkoko bondo, or Madungu

Madungu, also called Nkoko Bondo, is a nkisi for good hunting; it also treats scrotal hernia. Both are eminently masculine concerns. The bag #19.1076, from Lolo, is closed by means of a rigid ring through which many strips of colored cloth have been knotted, to fall loose over the bag. In addition to the cloths, of European manufacture, a great many raffia knots have been made in the ring. Below the first ring is a second one, similarly knotted; a crab claw and a cluster of three little antelope horns are attached to it. Red is the predominant color of the cloths. To the outside of the bag are attached two bells without clappers. Inside the bag is another, a net bag containing the usual collection of beans, stones and the like; also a crab claw to which a red medicine pack has been added.

The other two pieces in the Museum's collection that are related to Madungu are amulets. The metaphorical appropriateness of #19.514 to its function is apparent to the eye.

Makundu of Mukimbungu (cahier 259) tells us that the nganga of Madungu is bound by rules against sitting or drinking palmwine on a stone, on pain of developing scrotal hernia (*mpiki*). Nor may he be where stones are thrown



19.1.1076. Medicine bag with complex arrangement of added cloth strips, a crab claw, three little antelope horns, two clapperless iron bells, for nkisi Nkoko Bondo. Kingoyl..

to the ground, without immediately jumping into the air (*dumuka*). The name "Madungu" means, "Who causes *mpiki* to appear." In modern Mayombe, sitting on stones, regarded as *simbi* spirits, is believed to cause barrenness in a woman and sterility in a man. Nsemi, transcribed below, makes his guess as to what Nkoko Bondo may mean.

Lutete, cahier 231, Lolo

Nkisi wau ubedilanga binama vimba ye tatika nkisi wau wena ndambu zole ndambu yankaka ku bwala yena mu nkutu ye mu nti wacomua tina [n]tima ye lumueno. Ndambu ya nzole yena ku mfinda ikukwa kiena va nzila kia tungulua nzo wonso muntu uviokisanga biandia una sisa ndambu a biandia nkailu nkento vo bakala, vo una vionkisa bio una muntu una bela.

Nsemi, cahier 389; Kingoyi

Madungu vo Nkoko-bondo. Madungu wena nkumba yoyo mu dyambu dya katululanga bantu madungu. Kadi vo muntu wena bo, buna una bakwa mu yandi. Nkangunu babeki nkumbu yoyo, kadi yandi usundumunanga madungu. Nkumbu yayi ya Nkoko-bondo yena fimpasi mu viisa kani babanzilanga za mputa vo i nkoko a mbizi wena kiba kitwalanga mpasi zazingi beni mu nitu muntu vo nkoko una kuta ye myangala myandi nketi nyoka yikuteedi, kani mu yandi mu fwanukusungu ngolo zozo ye nkumbu. Mboki yandi vavilu mu kanda dya nseke.

Tuuku kyandi. Wau wakala mu nsi ya Kingu. Kansi bantu babanzilanga ti nkisi myamyonsono tuuku kyau kyena bonso bwabu. Muntu bu kena vava wa mooyo, kani wateka kala bunganga bwabwingi, mboki fwidi ye kuna ku kayenda, bu kana zingila ye nuna kuna bula bwa bafwa, mboki kuna kanavutuka fwa ye kituka nkisi ye kwiza solukila muntu, ntete ku malo ma matolo mu ndozi, mboki bu kakwe yungi kani mu nseke vo mu mamba. Bu kana tala va mamba, buna una mona kyeti dyengila va mukanda mu nlangu. Buna muntu una sakidila kiila kyokyo nsakidila zitatu, mboki kyau kibeni kina longa muntu mu ndozi minkunga ye mbukulu ye mpandusulu ye nkisi yandi kibeni una bika nkumbu kwa yandi ye makaya ma kana bukila ye vandisila. Nkangunu nkisi myamyonsono myena tuuku kya mpila yoyo ye mbadukulu au.

This nkisi causes the genitals to swell and hurt. One part, in the village, consists of a *nkutu*-bag and a stick to which is attached medicines and a mirror. The second part in the forest is a hearthstone by the roadside, for which a house has been built. Anyone passing by, man or woman, should leave a gift of food. One who fails to do so may fall ill.

Madungu is so called because it inflicts scrotal hernia. A person with such a hernia has been taken by Madungu. The other name, Nkoko-bondo, is a little difficult to understand; perhaps they were thinking of the wounds caused by the *nkoko* fish, which has spines that cause severe pain, like snakebite, and provoke swelling. It belongs to the land class.

It is supposed to have originated in Kingu, but people think the same way about all *minkisi*. A man who has lived his life, and perhaps acquired great magical powers, then dies. In his other life he lives and grows old in the village of the dead, then dies again and becomes a *nkisi*. He comes to appear to someone, first of all in dreams, then when the person is going about in the fields or near water. Looking at the water, he sees something bobbing on the surface. He salutes this thing by clapping his hands three times, whereupon the thing itself teaches the person in dreams the songs and treatments and rituals. The *nkisi* itself tells him the names of the plants for healing and for the composition of the *nkisi*. This is the way all *minkisi* originate. The person who secures such a *nkisi* is called the founder-nganga.

Nkyangunu Nkoko-bondo yatuuka ku Kingu ye bantu bayiza yo vandisa ku Nganda-moona. Wau wena salu ye kisa ye kodya ye nukonzi. Va salu vena bilongo byankaka, tala byo mu mwe Nsundi. Mu kisa mwena mfumbu ku taku ye lutumbu lwa ba, mbika kisa kivwatusu mpemba ye minkwisa. Mu kodya mwena mpemba dyaka yavwatusu minkwisa, mungwa. Bina tuulwa mu ngudi a kodya.

Yandi kena fulu mu nzo ko, kansi utungulwanga nzo yankaka ya yandi kaka. Nzo andi bu yitungwanga ku badika kyo lumbu ye manisa yo kyo i lumbu. Makunzi mena mbatu maya mbatu nana, kansi ka wonso nti ko, kansi mya mbota kaka ye nludi wa nyanga kaka. Ka yena bibaka ko, mboki mu yulu mu manukwanga mwa tanda dya mbasa ye kankala minsinga, mbok salu ye kisa ye kodya ye byankaka bimanukwanga mu yulu.

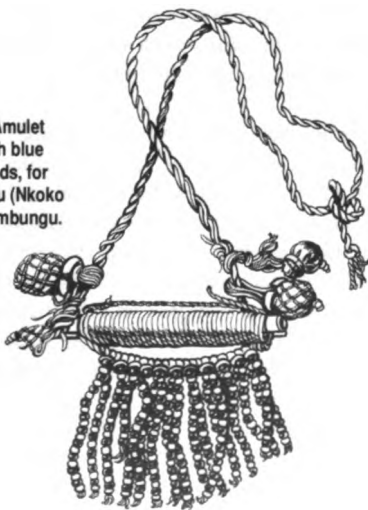
Wau bu uvandwanga muntu kana valakana nkento ko, vo sumuka, kansi wau mpe wena lusaba bonso myankaka ye tangumuna: Wadi Madungu ku bakento. Wadi Madungu ku babakala. A, bayaaya, bayaaya. Twenda nseke, nseke na nseke. Twenda mamba, mamba na mamba. Myaka mabola, mankondo mabola, bankabi bangana, bankongo bangana, mpene mu luketo, nzala mu mooyo. Tala nkunga wa ntonono lusaba mwe Kongo.

Anyway, Nkoko-bondo came from Kingu and people composed it in New Nganda. It has a *salu*-bag, a pot, a snail shell and a little slit-drum. In the bag there are medicines (see above, under 'Mwe Nsundi'). In the pot there is resin and palm-bark; the pot itself is painted with white chalk and tied with *munkwisa* leaves. In the snail shell there is more chalk, salt and *munkwisa*.

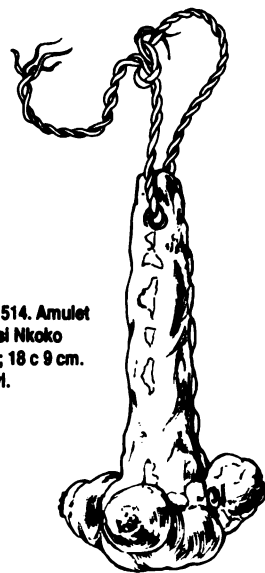
The nkisi is not kept in the house but has a little house of its own, which must be begun and finished on the same day. The posts of the house are four in one direction, eight in the other, and they may not be just of any wood but only of ebony, and the roof of *nyanga* grass. It has no walls. Inside there is hung up a woman's pubic apron and an arrangement of cords to hold the bag, the pot and the snail shell.

When the nkisi is composed, the officiant may not have had any relations with a woman. He approaches the enclosure as usual and recites: "Madungu on the left, Madungu on the right. Ah, bayaya! Let us go upon land, to many lands. Let us go upon the water, to many waters. The cassava has rotted, the bananas have rotted. The bush-bucks have gone, the antelopes have gone. No clothes on the back, hunger in the belly." See above, the song for approaching the enclosure of nkisi Mwe Kongo.

1954.1.2481. Amulet decorated with blue and white beads, for nkisi Madungu (Nkoko Bondo). Mukimbungu.



1919.1.514. Amulet for nkisi Nkoko Bondo; 18 c 9 cm. Kingoyi.



Bu bameni teba nkisi ye nika, buna vubila wo mfula ye bonga lungazi, buna bena bana vempa lo biveso ye yimbila nkunga: Mbemba dya ngazi, walobula mukamvi, musungwa, tala walobula mukamvi, musungwa, tala mbemba tala, o webuna kabala.

Bu beti yimbila ye kumata mbeezi va tadi ye sika lusaki, bu bameni teba lungazi nteba tatu tatu. Nkunga wankaka bana yimbila: Tombula miyembo mi twadiila, tombula. E wadi Nkoko-bondo tombula. Kole mbwa ya nsibizi wenzi va nganga mbwa, vaku vaku. Mboki bankaka bana kina ye tuntuka ye sika mukonzi ko-ko-ko ye yimbila nkunga wankaka: O ya bankabi balola ku nseke, lukima maalu.

Bu bameni vanda ye kotisa mu nzo andi ye yimbila nkunga Madungu laala, mbazi twakwenda mene, nga nkundu katuula zo, mbazi dyo kwenda mene Madungu laala tolo.

Madungu vo Nkoko-bondo wena lulendo ye ngolo zazingi mu twadila bibulu kwa muntu, kidi kavonda byo. Nkyanguu wena nkumbu yankaka Makunga ukungulanga bulu byabyo ku bititi ye sindikanga byo kwa bateela. Dyaka ubwilanga bantu bonso myankaka. Tala mu mwe Nsundi mu lendo kyandi.

Yandi wena lendo kya mpetila bibulu, nkyanguu bantu bu bavondidi bulu, bana tota makaya ma mutumbi mavwa mole ye bana mo duka mu makutu ye mu mbombo ye mu meeso, mu nua, mu bikodya, mboki nganga una teba lusaku-saku ye sakumuna bulu. Nganga bu kamene, bana tuula makaya momo mavwa mole ye ntabudi una katula mataba mandi ye koma mbeezi va makaya ye kibulu va kimosi, kansi ntabudi bu kana koma kibulu una zima meeso, mboki kumba loози.

Wonso beedingi nzo mbi kana kala vana paakulu bulu ko, kadi weka wasumuka. Mboki mimbono ye mutima mina manukwa mu nzo Makunga ye mene nganga una yobisa nkisi mu menga mena mu ngudi mutima. Nganga bu kameni yobisa bakisi una tambika ntima kwa wonso wavondidi kyo. Nga nimbono mina kala kaka mu nzo Madungu kaka. Nganga bu kana lembe mukisi vo yobisa una tangumuna: A, bayaaya, ngwa Mukomp ye Kibenga nzimbu zami badia, nzamanu ami badia, untwila ke mbeezi, undeemina ke mbau. Ngeye diidi kwaku, kansi mono nzala.

When they have cut up the medicines for the nkisi and crushed them and burned gunpowder for them, they take a palmtree, split it in half and sing: "Eagle ate palm fruit, spat out the pith..."

While they are singing they tap on the stone with their knives and clap their hands. They set out the palmtree three times. Here is another song they sing: "Call up hunting luck that we may eat, eh, Nkoko-bondo, call it up. May the cane-rodent come to the hunter's dog." Others dance, shake ecstatically, and play the slit-drum, *ko-ko-ko*. "Oh, the bush-buck barks in the grass; may your legs be strong!"

Eventually they put the nkisi to rest in its house with more songs: "Madungu, sleep well; tomorrow we go hunting."

Madungu, or Nkoko-bondo, is very powerful in leading game to the hunter to be killed. It is also called "The Chief, who rounds up all the animals in the bush and sends them to the marksmen." It also strikes people, like other minkisi, such as Mwe Nsundi.

Since it has hunting powers, when the men have killed they fetch mutumbi leaves in two bunches and stuff the ears, nostrils and eyes of the beast, also its mouth and hooves, and the nganga spreads lusaku-saku to bless it. When he has finished, a boy, who has first taken off his loincloth [to be naked like the animal], fixes the two bunches of leaves to the animal with a knife, shutting his eyes as he does so and uttering a special cry.

No-one who has had sexual relations may be present when the animal is butchered, for he is defiled. The forelock and heart of the beast are hung up in the house of the nkisi. The nganga smears the nkisi with the blood from the heart, and then presents the heart to whomever killed the animal. The forelock stays there. While the nganga is anointing the nkisi he recites: "Ah, friends, old Mukomp and Kibenga accepted my money, my fee, do not strike me with a knife, do not burn me with fire. You have eaten, I am hungry."

Mu bilongo mbukulu zankaka tala mwe Nsundi. Miina myandi tala mu mwe Nsundi. Kansi mbatu nkisi ulenda sumuka vo muntu una dia mukombe. Bu kakedi nzo mbi, buna usumunanga nkisi, kani dia mukombe ye teeta mbanga, buna usumunanga miina mya nkisi. Nkisi bu umeni sumuka, lwenda ku mbingu, ka balendi vutuka vonda ko, buna luzeyi vo nksis wasumukini. Buna bana lunda malavu ma mfiku, mboki sakumuna mata ye mbwa ye yandi kiben nkisi mpe. Mboki bakento ye babakala bana tafuna minkwisa ye ye kwiza lobula va salu dya nkisi ye ta mambu: Navwa mukuku ko, lwenda lwataana, lwabeeta. Bu bameni kwiza lobula musangavulu, buna nkisi usungamani ye wena ngolo dyaka. Mbo balenda vutuka vonda kibulu. Bu bavondidi, buna bana kanila bakento mu mwa kenzo-kenzo, nga lwalembo bavana balunyongina yo yibindama.

For the healing medicines and the prohibitions, see Mwe Nsundi. This nkisi is profaned if the owner eats goat, has sexual relations or cracks palmnuts, all actions against the rules. If he were to go hunting after having profaned the nkisi he would not kill anything and would know that the nkisi was defiled. He would then take old palmwine and bless his weapons and his dog with it, also himself and his nkisi. Then husbands and wives chew munkwisa and spit on the salu bag of the nkisi and say: "Do not curse us, may we strike, may we kill." So the nkisi is repaired and regains its strength, so that they may hunt again. When they kill, they divide little portions among the women; if they failed to do this there would be complaints.

Nsungu

These two examples of Nsungu, from Kinkonzi and Lolo respectively, are very similar in appearance. Both consist of a small bag on a long, looped handle, hung about with tiny, medicated antelope horns and other accessories. As Lutete indicates, they are comparable in form and function to Nduda, or that part of Nduda that was carried by men expecting armed attack. On a later page he implies that, like other war nkisi, Nsungu controlled heavy rain: "*Kanda mvula* [rain-stopper] is a leaf used in the composition of all minkisi that control the rain, but it is strongest in Nsungu." The name seems to mean "sudden death" (LKD).

The only text dealing with a nkisi of similar name, Me Nsungu (cahier 25, by Babutidi of Kinkenge) indicates an entirely different function. Me Nsungu is made up in a *nkwala* mat or in a bag of goatskin, tied in a raffia net. It is used to treat a child who jumps or starts (*pamuka*). The mother of such a child, thought to be under the influence of this nkisi, takes palmwine and seeks out the nganga in his village. The nkisi is kept on a stone in a corner (*sungu*, hence the name) of the men's meeting house (*mbongi*). The child is placed in contact with the nkisi and marked with mud on his cheeks, forehead and flanks. Bananas,

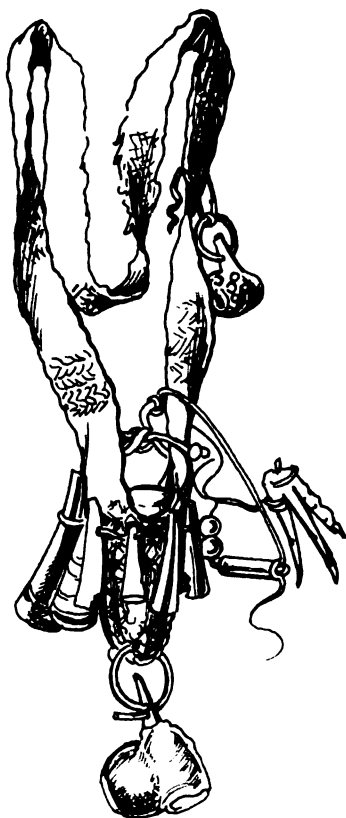
which the nganga subsequently eats, are placed on top of the nkisi during the treatment.

Lutete Esaya, cahier 231; Lolo

Nkisi wau uviokele ngolo mu nkisi mia nduda kadi wena lendo mu fidusulwa mbandanu ye tembo ku vata diankaka mu kubabunga. Nnangi wankaka idionga dia luveki lwa Lubota lusumikwanga va nkunga nzo, vo ndoki una zola kuiza ku mbongi buna sika zomama va dionga diodio, evo minkele mia matutu mina basuka, buna ndoki una fwa kia Makulu ye una monika mpe ndobo a mfula mu Ludimi ye nwa una kituka ndombe buna Nsungu umvetele.

This nkisi is more powerful than nkisi Nduda because it has the power to send thunderstorms to destroy another village. Another power it has is the ironwood spear that is fixed in the roof of the men's house. If a witch should want to come to the house he would be transfixed by the spear, or else the guns [of the nkisi] would go off and the witch would certainly die. It would be seen that his mouth and tongue had turned black like gunpowder, and so it would be known that Nsungu had got him.

1919.1.506. Medicines for nkisi Naungu, contained in and attached to a small carrying bag. Kinkonzi.



19.1.1053. Medicines for nkisi Naungu, contained in and attached to a small carrying bag; 58.5 cm. Lolo.



ATTACK

The most spectacular of Kongo minkisi are those intended to pursue unknown or suspected witches and other malefactors. Often they are called Nkondi, which may be either a proper name or a name for the type, although some of similar function are not called nkondi. They were invoked in public, so that the intended victim would know that he was at risk. "When the witches see that a nkisi as big as that has been mobilized against them they let go of the invalid" (cahier 120). The technique is old; we know that in 1698, when a vassal of the Mani Mbangu had lost some slaves, "having acquired certain information about them, he went to the market with instruments of magic in order to curse those who held his slaves."

The container of this type of nkisi was more likely to be a human figure than were those of other types because it represented both the nkisi as "hunter" (*nkondi*, from *konda*, to hunt; the figure may therefore be that of a dog or a leopard) and as its own victim: "When it is seen that a particular statue has a frightful appearance people respect it and believe that it changes its victim to look like itself... For example, some are defective, so that if it attacks someone he will become like the nkisi itself. Such an appearance does not have the power to heal" (cahier 387).

Minkisi of this type were used as a sanction for oaths, the parties to a treaty agreeing to be subject to the wrath of the nkisi if they broke their agreement. Such agreements might have allied two descent groups, or ratified the transfer of slaves from one to another. Individuals could also place themselves under the protection of the nkisi. In each type of situation, the nkisi "knew" which party to pursue because items associated with him by contiguity (called *mfunya*) were attached to the figure; for example, a little packet containing the hair or a rag of clothing of the person in question. In some districts it was believed that the nkisi would desist when the

nail or spike driven into it during the invocation or curse, and which was believed to infuriate it, was removed by the nganga; otherwise it would fall out when the nkisi had wreaked vengeance on the criminal.

Kula

Kula ("the pursuer," it pursues ghosts and witches) is extensively written up in LKIII:91ff. Most of the material on those pages is condensed from a KiKongo text originally written by Laman himself (LKM:777-83), including descriptions of two figurines in his collection ("Nos. 127a,b") which may be the ones illustrated here: 1919.590, from "Mayumbe" (ie., from the area west of Kinkenge-Kingoyi); and 1919.531, from Kingoyi. His descriptions of these pieces appear on p.92 of LKIII. From the paragraphs that precede them we learn that such a figurine was a small part of the total material of the nkisi, which included a large bundle and a number of the small cloth bags (*mikubulu*) (resembling those of nkisi Kubungu) with which the patient's body was massaged. A medicine pack is obviously missing from the head of 1919.590.

Descriptions of Kula were also written by Babutidi, Kwamba of Kingoyi (cahier 142) and Nsemi of Kingoyi (cahier 389). The last of these is quoted in an account of the initiation of novices, LKIII:92-94. Babutidi's account, simpler than the others, was never transcribed by Laman.

The catalogue card for 1919.531 presents a puzzle for further research. It describes, as does LKIII:92, a girl with beads under her arm and a *hibaka* pattern tattooed on her back. It also says that the name of this figure is Mansanga ma Lungwedi, which means that it is the child (Mansanga) of a female Nkondi (Lungwedi; see Nkondi 19.1394, Mayombe). Demvo's description of Nkondi Lungwedi (cahier 27) strongly resembles Laman's description, in his next paragraph (LKIII:92), of another female Kula: "A female Kula has a child on her back that desires and is glad at the flesh that the mother is going to seek out." This drifting of ideas from one nkisi to another may be indigenous, or an artefact of the process of collection.



1919.1.590. Anthropomorphic figurine, nkisi Kula, wrapped to conceal large medicine bundle attached to the torso; another medicine pack missing from the head; 15.5 x 6.5 cm. Mayombe.



1919.1.531. Anthropomorphic, female figurine with tattoo marks, unusual headdress, medicine pack on the belly; 17 x 5.5 cm. For nkisi Kula, Kingoyi.

Babutidi, cahier 15; Kinkenge

Mwankaka vo muntu fwidi buna bavwidi ndiu fwidi i ntumbu kunzika ku fula diabwala va mbel'anzila mboki si benda balanda nganga a kula mu tamba mbudi va ndiamu mpasi vo ndoki yididi mvumbi yoyo yina fwa.

Nganga yoyo bu yilweki, buna i ntumbu nianguna lukatu lwena bilongo ye teba bio, mboki zenga tutu mboki, tata makongo ye vanga mo bibadika biamfwewe mfwele ye soka bio mu tutu diodio ye soka mfula ye tula mavunia mole bonso busokolongo nkele nadede. Bu kameni dio soka, buna i ntumbu dio sakumuna mu bilongo biobio biankisi bi katebidi ye kwe dio lamba vana ndiamu, kansi si bahahula ntoto ye vwiika matutu kani vo mole, mboki ladika diaka butoto va yilu kidi vo ndoki yoyo kana wa nsamu ye tina mu viokila va ndiamu yoyo ko.

Bu bameni tamba mbudi va ndiamu yoyo, buna wonso-wonso nkibi ulenda vioka ndiamu mu kondwa kia bila bu kalembo dia muntu wowo, kansi vo ndiona ndoki yandia. Ndoki yoyo ka yilendi fwila va ndiamu ko, kansi bu kaviokele ye lwaka ku nzo andi, buna i ntumbu bakama bela ye fwa kiamene. Ikuma dimbu kiau i kiaki: Muntu wakedi mavimpi ma ngolo zono, kansi bwabu beki yela ye kalendi bedila mu lumbu biabingi nkutu ko, kansi mbazi i ntumbu fwa ntumbu buna bazeyi vo nduda [mata mansakulu] kayangudi [kavumvudi].

Zimfumu ye bantu bankaka mpe bakala fu landa nganga Kula ye lebikisa zimbudi mu kukikandikisa bu bakidi vumuni, mpaso vo ndoki bu yizolele kwiza ku babaka, buna mbudi yoyo ntumbu kubuka ye ndoki yoyo i ntumbu fwa bu yilembolo sala kukibakila mfumu a nzo.

Mbudi zanzo mpe zasokwa mu matutu bonso bwavangwa zindiamu, kansi zanzo, bu bameni soka matutu momo, i ntumbu mo kanga mu minsinga ye ledika (zembidika) mo mu nludi a nzo evo kanga mo mu mbangu. Bankaka batudisa matutu momo mu dinga diankutu ye buna konso konso kukakwendanga vo ku mbingu vo ku bwala bwankaka, mena kaka yandi ye ndoki bu kazolele kunkumangana, buna mata i ntumbu basuka ye buna si ka fwa mpe. Ikuma ngana yayi yisadulwanga: "Bu wakidi moyo, tamba nduda."

Kadi vo ukitambidi nduda bu wakidi tadi, buna vo ndoki yizolele kubaka, buna nduda i ntumbu kumvonda ye ngeye sisi moyo, kansi vo si wateka fwa mboki baku batembi nduda buna nki a ndandu babeki mu humunu kiaku?

Sometimes when a man dies his family bury him by the side of the path at the entrance to the village. Then they seek out the nganga of Kula to set a trap on the grave, so that the witch that ate the deceased will die.

When the nganga arrives he unwraps the bundle of medicines and prepares them. He then cuts a gourd, makes little bullets and packs them into the gourd with two wads of fiber, just as one loads a real gun. Having loaded it, he blesses it with the medicines of the nkisi that he has prepared and puts it on the grave. They remove some of the earth, set in one or two "guns" and restore the soil, so that the witch will not know about it and therefore avoid passing that way.

When they have set the trap on the grave, anybody may pass by the grave who had no hand in killing the deceased, but not the witch responsible for his death. The witch will not actually die at the grave, but after passing it and reaching his house he will fall ill and suddenly die. Thus the sign is the following: if someone who was in robust health yesterday should fall ill and not last many days but fall dead tomorrow, then they know that *nduda* (nkisi guns) got him.

Chiefs and other people used to consult nganga Kula to prime traps for personal protection during their lifetime. If a witch came to attack them, the trap would snap and the witch die without being able to reach the master of the house.

House traps were loaded just like the ones made for graves, except that once the tubes were loaded they were tied with cords and hung in the roof, or tied to the roof-tree. Some people kept such weapons in a shoulder-bag, so that wherever they went, to the forest or to another village, they would have them along; if any witch attacked them the guns would go off and the witch would die. That is why this proverb is quoted: "During your lifetime, set *nduda*."

For, if you have the forethought to set a trap, then if a witch wants to grab you the *nduda* kills him and you remain alive; but if you are already dead and they set a trap, what good does that do for you?

Mvumbi yizayakene vo mu nduda yifwididi, kayilendi zituswa evo dilwa beni kwa bankaka ko mu diambu dia mankesi makindoki kiandi. Batambisa nduda bayangalanga, sevilanga ye vwezanga mvumbi yoyo, kansi mwanki bavwidi yo balenda yo toma yo zinga bonso bufwanane.

A dead person of whom it is known that he died from a nkisi-gun cannot be honored or mourned much by other people on account of the fury of his witchcraft. Those who set the trap rejoice and laugh and scorn the body, though his family may bury him properly.

Lunkanka

Matunta's text (cahier 307) on Lunkanka is perhaps better regarded as a kind of general essay on violent, retributive *minkisi* of this type, including Makwende, Nkondi and Ngobila. In fact, the invocations Matunta quotes as addressed to some other *minkisi* are little different from those he attributes to Lunkanka. Perhaps he was trying to make a little ethnography go a long way, but there are many other indications that the different rituals all drew upon much the same pool of medicines, songs, invocations and gestures. Surprisingly, in view of its quality, there are only echoes of Matunta's text, but no explicit references, in Laman's English volumes.

Matunta gives valuable explanations for some, though not all, of the features of Lunkanka. This *nkisi* was used principally, Matunta tells us, to sanction transfers of persons (slaves, refugees, clients) between descent groups. The fact enables us to make sense of the expression *koma nkoko*, "to hammer a curse." By its form this phrase appears to describe the adjuration of a *nkisi* by the procedure of driving nails into it, as into Lunkanka or Nkondi, but it is also the usual expression describing the appeal of a runaway slave or other refugee who, by insulting him in a prescribed way, invokes the support of the chief whom he has chosen to be his new patron. Insults, like driving in nails, are a way of arousing the anger of a powerful personality and a metaphor for the violence that is invoked. Linguistically, the human patron appears to be a substitute for a *nkisi* that one might have insulted or nailed. In fact, though it literally means "to nail," the verb *koma* is often best translated "to adjure."

Sociologically, one would expect Lunkanka to be institutionalized in areas where powerful chiefs or other patrons were lacking. This is a striking example of the extent to which *nkisi*, as personalized objects, are functionally interchangeable with human beings, who in turn are in certain respects



1954.1.2338. Monkey faced figurine, medicine pack on the belly through which blades have been driven, multiple attachments; 43.8 cm high. Nkisi Lunkanka, Nganda.

"objectified" by the ritual treatment that invests them, supposedly, with supernatural powers.

The following comments are keyed to the numbered paragraphs of the text.



Close up



Second close-up

NOTE

The translation of the text was made before I had seen the figure. Inspection shows that

1. Lunkanka is female.
2. It is intended that this fact be evident when the figure is seen from the rear (see par. 29–30).
3. The tangle of cordage includes a tumpline (a woman's carrying band) by means of which the figure can be carried (par. 19).
4. On the right side is a piece of bark on which someone (Laman?) has written "Nkasa" (par. 21).
5. The figure wears a sort of loincloth not of raffia but of animal fur, under which is a piece of striped European cloth; in several places, little knots of raffia cloth have been attached (par. 22).
6. On its right side the figure carries a miniature knife (par. 23).
7. On its right shoulder is a miniature *nkutu* bag, contents unknown (par. 24?).
8. On its left shoulder is a whistle in the form of a woman with hands raised in the *niaala* gesture (par. 25, 28).
9. The "collar" is an iron ring (par. 26).
10. There is a feather on the right side (par. 27).
11. No evidence of "powder flasks" (par. 31).
12. The figure has been kept in a smoky environment.

1. One of the features of Lunkanka not explained by the text is the monkey face of the figurine. It may perhaps represent a *n'sengi* monkey, also used in Mutadi (q.v.), whose name recalls the verb *senga*, "to spy upon, to watch over." The name Lunkanka may be connected with *nkanka*, "menace," but it is said to mean "one who drives a hard bargain."
2. The medicines mentioned are common to many *minkisi*. Some of them are explained below, in paragraphs 35-40.
3. *Tuvuya*, sing. *luvuya*, *mpuya*, refers to both the nails, spikes or other hardware driven into the figurine, with or without an accompanying relic associated with the person in question, and to the adjuration, oath, or agreement that accompanies the action. Also see paragraph 14. The priest (*nganga*) of the *nkisi* is also referred to as its owner or master (*mfumu*). In paragraph 5, Matunta provides his own synonyms.
4. The four creatures are taken from the domains of earth, air and water, and also from night and day. They are all omens of death. Ntoyo, explained in paragraph 25, is a diurnal bird whose nocturnal cry is a sign of death, like that of the owl when it hoots on the roof-tree.
6. This paragraph describes the use of Lunkanka as a sanction for the permanent transfer of persons from one descent group to another. In paragraph 12, Matunta says that this is not the only reason why one might appeal to the *nkisi*.
7. The author has omitted reference to the owls here.
8. To drive in nails is to mime the attack the *nkisi* is to make on the victim against whom it is being directed; that person is to be afflicted with a disease that will make him feel as though knives were being driven into his chest, and the like.
9. This paragraph describes the ambiguity of an object that is, nevertheless, a "person."
10. On the complex metaphors of the vulture, see paragraph 27.
13. "Entering beneath the cloth" refers to the fact that "sometimes the preparation of the medicine is concealed under blankets or a large cover sewn together from pieces of raffia cloth" (LKIII:72).
14. *Mfunya*, "relics," are exuviae, items metonymically identified with the person whom the *nkisi* is to recognize. The word may also mean the spikes to which such items are attached before being driven into the figurine. An alternative name is *mbwa*, "dog," meaning something sent in pursuit of game.
17. Lunkanka's aid is invoked against a whole nocturnal traffic of spirits of several kinds. See paragraph 45.
18. The fontanelle is regarded as a weak spot in one's defences against spirits, especially water spirits, which cause hysterical possession (*lauka*). In modern times, it may be protected against their invasion by placing a live match in this tuft of hair. *N'silu* means a limit or barrier; it is a term applied to amulets (comp. *nkaku*). Medicine packs were placed on the heads of *minkisi* so that their fontanelles might be "open."
19. The tumpline, used by women to carry burdens on the back, is normally a reference to pregnancy (burden carried in front) and thus to fertility.
22. The modesty of Lunkanka is appropriate to its identity as a "person," similar to a chief. Aggressive exposure of one's sexual parts is a standard insult. See paragraph 29.

25. Apparently the *nganga* of Lunkanka would prowl the village at night, scaring people out of their wits by blowing whistles called *ntoyo* (see paragraph 4, above, and paragraph 46, below).
27. The references to the vulture or fishing-eagle *mbemba* in this paragraph and paragraph 10, above, are very complex. The *nganga* has painted himself black and white to resemble the bird. *Bemba* is "to sing aloud, as at a party or a funeral" (LKD). "Where the vulture flies there is much happiness" is a proverb. The name of the hawk, *kimbembe*, comes from *bembila*, "to hover, to hunt about." There is also in these words a reference to *bembama*, "to lie on one's back." It was believed that birds of prey had eyes that were upside down, enabling them to see their prey below them, and apparently they were also thought to turn over (*senguka*) in order to attack; cf. *sengula mambemba*, "to lie on one's back" (LKD). The owner of Lunkanka prays that his good fortune not be *fidimika*, "turned upside down."
29. See paragraph 22, above. Exposing the private parts of the *nkisi*, as of a chief or indeed of anyone else, especially women, can be either an insult to or an insult by the person in question.
32. Though "dedicate" is Laman's translation of *sidika* (*sindika*), it is clear that the procedure is intended to see the deceased safely off to the other world and minimize the risk that he may return, with all his formidable powers enhanced by his direct contact with the dead, to harass the living in search of vengeance on the enemies who caused his demise.
34. The practice of chanting an explanation for the (metaphorical) function of each ingredient of magical medicines is a standard one (LKIII:73). This list of medicines and their "properties" is also unremarkable.
41. Yombo the smith is presumably the originator of the *nkisi*. *Yombo* means the top of a house (from which *nganga* has just descended); "to rise up" is to be consecrated or initiated.
42. Lulendo was a *nkisi* to control trade, developed in the 1880s near modern Luozi.

Matunta, cahier 307; Nganda

1. Lunkanka i *nkisi* wena mu teki, i *nkisi* wa mpaka a tatu, ngolo zazingi beni. Lunkanka watuuka ku Mongo, kadi bidi bakulu bayenda kumvandanga, kansi bwabu *nganga* zafuuka kwandi. Nga bu kakala ye *nganga* andi buna beni kakala ngolo, i kuma wasa mavata maleki beni. Ngolo zandi mu mbakulu. Bweta mu ntulu, vaikisa menga mu mbombo, neena tufinya, koma mbeele mu ntulu, zeka nsingu, bemba mooko ye maaluu, vumu ndiki, bweta mafina. Mboki belele ndoki va bula, kenga vumunu kya muntu ye b.b. Yandi Lunkanka bu kamana zabakana vo ngolo zazingi beni, buna babingi beni basila wo vuvu, mu bukwa ye zimfunia tudisa ye singa wo bandoki banganga bananga ye b.b.

Lunkanka is a *nkisi* in a statue and it is extremely fierce and strong. It came from Mongo, where many of our forebears used to go to compose it, but now its *banganga* have all died out. When it had a *nganga* it was very strong, and so it destroyed whole villages. Its strength lay in seizing [its victims], crushing their chests, making them bleed from the nose and excrete pus; driving knives into their chests, twisting necks, breaking arms and legs, knotting their intestines, giving them night-mares, discovering witches in the village, stifling a man's breathing, and so on. When it was known that Lunkanka was exceedingly powerful, a great many people trusted in it for healing, placing oaths and cursing witches and magicians, and so on.

2. Mbeeze zozo zena va ntima buna ka kazatuula nganga ko, kansi bankwa tuvuya bakoma zo. Bonso bwabu basanga. Nganga una teka mana teba bilongo byobyoy, buna byayendanana ye nkisi e naveke, buna i vovo nkisi si kakatula byo, kansi buna tekele mana kubika nkuki mboki tuula vovo nkwasu ye toma bweta vovo ntima. Nkwasi bu wena kwandi maaka, buna vele nzaki beni mu nanamana. Longo i byabi: Luyala, tondo, mpezomo, lwangu-lwangu, diba, lunungu lwa nsamba, nsaku-nsaku, mpemba ye tiya twa mfula ye byankaka.
3. Bu bimeni tuula vovo ntima a nkisi, buna mboki ndyona una sa tuvuya yo bole vo ntatu i tumbu telama ye kwiza. Kansi nte ndyoyo mfumu a nkisi tekele wo mana sakumuna bonso bufweni ye vuma malavu ma nsamba va luse. Mboki si kasongila bobo bana sa luvuya momo Una ta bonso bwabu ti: Nge mwene Lunkanka teka matu, wateka mpuku-mpuku, kadi ndyoyo una kwiza sa luvuya mu ngeye mwene, kansi meeso maku kyekye, matu maaku nkelo ye b.b. I ntumbu bonga tiya twa mfula ye tanda bikunku mboki i tumbu vubula ena:
4. Wu! Yandi ndyoyo vana kana dia mbamba ko bambalakata, sidi zyoka kwani ye wele kadi kwani ku vata dyandi ku katuukidi, mboki mbongo zami ti zivombe kwani, buna nge mwene Lunkanka, kafwa mbombo, kafwamakutu kafwa ntumbu, katimbuka ena: lo! Koma mbeeze mu ntulu, zibula muululu mu mbombo, zeka nsingu, kanga mbanzi, sa lungila va ntima. Kakovula, kovolo kabeki. Buna nge mwene Lunkanka twidi bingidi. Kadi ntoyo ti, ntoyo zaku, bikaka ti, bikaka byaku, ngandu ti, ngandu zaku, nyoka ti, nyoka zaku. Ko, mwene, yambula kikento, wasimba kibakala ye b.b.
5. Nganga bu kameni sa ya bimpangula nkama byo, buna i yandi vo bau baminanga si bakwiza mu sa tuvuya (nsiilulu, ndefi, luwawanu). Koko kwankaka mbeeze ye kwankaka sisi kya tiya ki kana vubila tiya, bu kameni sa nsibu myandi. Kansi tiya twa mfula buna tumeni tandanga ntama, mboki kana zibula nua ye ta vo:

The knives in its chest are not put there by the nganga but by those who make the contract. This is how they do it. The nganga first prepares the medicines. If they were just put on the nkisi, it would get rid of them, but they first prepare a resin pack with gum, and press it firmly on the chest. If the gum is sticky, it will fix well. The medicines are these: *luyala, tondo, quartz, lwangu-lwangu, diba, pepper, nsaku-nsaku, chalk, gunpowder* and others.

When they have put them in the heart of the nkisi, then those who are to make the contracts, two or three, get up and approach. First the owner of the nkisi blesses it properly by spitting palmwine over it. Then he introduces those who are to make the contract - in the nkisi, saying; "Lunkanka, sir, open your ears, be attentive, so-and-so is coming to make an oath on you, may your eyes be clear, your ears open," and so on. Then he takes the gunpowder, divides it into parts, burns some and recites the following:

Wu! "So-and-so was bound by a great oath but now has fled back to the village he came from, so my money is wasted. Do you Lunkanka, sir, wake up, be alert, pay attention to this: "Lo! Drive a knife into [his] chest, make [his] nose bleed, wring his neck. make his heart pound. May he cough incessantly. So your might is known, Lunkanka. For the ntoyo birds are yours, the owls are yours, yours are the crocodiles, and the snakes, too. So, sir, don't be girlish, be virile," and so on.

When the nganga has completed this invocation, he or his assistants get ready for the tuvuya (promise, oath, agreement). In one hand a knife, in the other a burning stick with which to fire the powder after saying his oath. When the gunpowder is all laid out, he opens his mouth and says:

6. Bwabu ngeye mwene Lunkanka, teka matu, wateka mpuku-mpuku. Bwabu meno, bubu mbeni sumbwa kwa yandi taata. Kuna vata ku mbedi bameni kunzambila lufundu lwa ntekolo, kansi vana ngina baka mabanza ti seti yasaleti tiina nkookila, yatiineti nsuuka, kidi mbongo za taata zi kaveeni zafuukileti, nga meno di nzeebi vo yandi taata kanteka yandi kwandi, kankundika va bula yandi kwandi, kansi meno va ngina sala dia nzangi ya zangala. Vo bwabu meno kwamusu kwingi ngyeti monanga, i kuma tiina kwami i tiina, buna nge mwene Lunkanka kwa fwa aku makutu ko, nge ti mu fuku i mo wadiila, yatina mwini, weti yena kwaku. Bubu ngyeti ta, bubu yateele bo ba ntandu a ludimi vo ka ku nsi a ludimi ngyeti mo teela ko,
7. vana ngina dia mbamba ya mbambalakata, buna nge mwene, bweta mu ntulu, watolula lubanzi neenisa menga, tufinya, zeka nsingu, kanga, wakuta kuyambulani ko. Kadi mu ntoyo zaku kela una kela, mu ngandu bakila kwaku, mu nyoka ya kinteela, teela una teela. Buna nge mwene Lunkanka twidi bingidi. Simba kibakala, wayambala kikento ko, mwene, ye b.b.
8. Bu kameni sa nsilu wowo, buna i sisi kya tiya si kaveemuna ye vuba tiya ena: vu- vu- vu-. Teedimisanga mbeeze zaku, kulambikangani mbeeze ko, mwene. Waleeka sikamanga. Mboki i mbeeze yena va kooko kwa lumoso si kakoma vovo ntima a nkisi ye teeze vo: wonso ukuzimbakana nlongo, buna koma yandi mbeeze mu ntulu vo va ntima ko, mwene. Nkisi wowo weti komwa mbeeze va ntima vene bilongo, i bobo yandi mpe kana kwe komingi mbeeze mu bantu beti kunzimbakana ye lembwa vumina.
9. Babana vo ndyona komene luvuya momo nkisi bu kameni sa nsibu myandi nadede, buna nganga si usiba nkisi andi ye toma kunteela: Ti nge mwene Lunkanka, matu mena yaku, kadi i wa kutu lembwa, meeso mena yaku, kansi i mona ina lembwe mone e. Nge ti mu byula zyetila kwaku, mu syalala kwaku, mu mpese, mu nkala bubi, mu lungwenya zyetila kwaku. Nkisi wena meeso keti ma beto tu bantu bazinga. Nkisi wena matu keti ma beto tu bantu bazinga ye b.b.

"Now Lunkanka, sir, open your ears, be alert. Now me, I have been bought by Mr. X. In the village from which I fell into debt I was given away as a pawn, but now I think I should transfer myself by day and by night [i.e., permanently], for when the money Mr.X gave is used up I suppose that he might sell me and [not] settle me in his village, and I would be miserable and afraid. So in this great distress I am fleeing away. Do not you, Lunkanka turn a deaf ear; by night I complain, by day I fled, you see it. I speak [sincerely] on top of the tongue, not underneath it.

"Here I am swearing a strong oath, so do you, sir, crush the chest [etc.] By your ntoyo birds you will spy, by your crocodile you will seize, by your biting snakes you will bite, [by your owls...?]. Truly, Lunkanka you are mighty. Seize like a man, do not relax like a woman, etc."

Having made this invocation, he brightens the brand and sets off the powder, so: vu! vu! vu! "May your knives stand straight, do not let them fall out. The sleeper awakes." Then he drives the knife that is in his left hand into the heart of the nkisi and says: "Whosoever neglects your rules, drive a knife into his chest or heart, sir." The nkisi has the knife driven into the heart where the medicines are, and so he too will stab those that neglect him and do not respect him.

When the one making the oath on the nkisi has finished his invocation, the nganga also invokes his nkisi, saying: "Lunkanka, sir, you have ears, do you not hear us; you have eyes, do you not see? You go about in the likeness of the frog, the scorpion, the cockroach, the lizard, the chameleon. A nkisi has eyes like us, the living; it has ears as we do, etc.

10. Matete ntambudi, ndombe ntambudi, mpembe ntambudi, mpundidika [mbizi yena mu nlangu, ya nlongo yikalanga kabasangananga yo ko] ntambudi ko, mwene, Zyeta, kuzakalangani ko, mwene. A, kuzyetele mbemba kukalanga nza kyese. Tiitidila bonso butiitanga kimbembe ko, mwene Lunkanka. Buna nge twidi bingidi ko, mwene Lunkanka. Nganga ntumbu vuba tiya mpe dyaka.
11. Buna bobo ndyoyo nanga kalendi vutuka taba dyaka ko, kani kutu kala mabanza mataba nkutu, buna mameni, kadi meni sa luvuya mu Lunkanka, kadi nkisi mbi beni wena. Ka ufwiilanga muntu kyadi ko. Kaman bwila, buna be se nzaki bu bakizaabidi bo naana ko siikidi beni.
12. Tuvuya toto ka twasiwa mu dyambu dya bantu bansumba kaka ko, kansi bantu bankaka bakoma mbeele yoyo, i bikwangi kwani byakana kwiza vuwunga kwa wonso muntu. Buna lenda kunnata ye konso kweni nkisi wa mpaka, b.v. Lunkanka, kidi kasa nsibu momo ye vubula tiya ye koma mbeele, buna bobo kalendi vutuka kala ku katuukidi ko kansi vwendu kwandi. Vo nkento wena, bunaweka nkento andi, kansi vo bakala buna weka nsongi andi wa malavu. Kansi vo ku kanda dyodyo vo bakuula sananga bikwanga, buna bau bamvwidikuula si bakunkuula mu zimbongo. Kansi buna bakoma luvuya mu Lunkanka, buna i bobo bavangudila mpe. Buna vengo vengo, kipo kya Nkondi kyatuuka.
13. Wonso nsamu una komono mbeele mu Lunkanka, buna ufweti kala kaka nakekete ye lembwa viluka dyaka, nga buna Lunkanka kengi, kakutudi ko. Banga baboo buna bameni kotila koko nsi a nelele ye koma mbeele momo teki, buna kabalendi batiina ko nate ye mfwilu zau. Vo mfumu a vata wabansumba vo fwidi mpe, kansi kabalendi batiina ko. Mbeele nsambwadya zena mu ntima a Lunkanka zakomo, buna i luvuya nsam[bwadia mpe toto. Kansi mu mbeele mosi yilenda koma kwangi byole vo bitatu. Mbeele mosi yilenda koma nkole ia vo ntanu. Kansi mpe yilenda koma mosi mosi mpe. Mbeele zazi zaluta komwa kwa bantu bansumba, kadi i bau babanzulwa vo bafweti kala mfumu za mavata kaka.

"Spots I have received, black I have received, white I have received; I have received *mpundika* (a fish which it is taboo to share with others). Go about, do not sit still, sir. Ah, where the vulture flies there is much happiness. Hover as the vulture hovers, Lunkanka sir. Then you are mighty, lord Lunkanka." Then the nganga explodes more powder.

After that the slave may not flee again, may not so much as think of it, because he has made an oath in Lunkanka, which is a bad nkisi indeed. It has mercy on no one. If anything befalls him, it will be recognized immediately as not for nothing; he is being punished.

These oaths are not sworn only on account of slaves; others who come to drive knives are refugees who come to put themselves under the authority of someone else. He takes them to a violent nkisi, such as Lunkanka, to make the oath, explode powder and drive in a knife. Afterwards they cannot return whence they came, but settle down. If a woman, she becomes the wife [of the patron]; if a man, his palm-wine tapster. If the clan wants to redeem their refugees, then the responsible person may redeem them with money; but if they have sworn an oath on Lunkanka, then they are gone for good. The plea to Nkondi is in effect.

Whatever affair is the subject of a knife driven into Lunkanka is fixed for ever and may not be forgotten; for what Lunkanka fixes, he does not let go. People who once have entered beneath the cloth to drive knives into the statue may not flee until they die. If the village chief who bought them dies, still they may not run away. If there are seven knives in the heart of Lunkanka, then there are also seven oaths there. But one knife may be driven for two or three fugitives, or for three or four. Sometimes it's one for one. These knives are mostly driven by slaves whom it is thought should become freemen of the village.

14. Bantu bankaka mpe bayiza tuudisa mfunya zau momo Lunkanka, kadi vo bantu babindana mpaka mu lekwa vo mu bibulu vo nsusu vo nkombo vo bantu ye b.b., buna baana babanzidi vo bameni babwa, buna bayenda kangisa mfunya momo Lunkanka. Babakanga nsuki za ntu vo muntu, kansi vo bulu buna miika vo ntu a nkila ye i momo nkisi kwau bana didila. Buna nkisi si katomba konso kwena mbedidi. Batanga bonso bwabu:
15. Bote kafyole, bidi bakulu beto kababungila au mbongo ko, kansi ti beto mpe kwani babunga. Buna ngeye mwene Lunkanka, ta, kusakulani ko. Babuka, tuuma batuumini, babakula tuuma kwani. Batuuta mbonzo ye nwika i lutusila, mpasi balembisa ye koodisa mfunya. I bo kwani ko, taata Lunkanka. Mu ntandu momo i kusindikanga mu bameni dya kuta kyami, wenda taani, wabeeta ko, mwene. Sa maalu nkataba, sa nzundu, zenguzula makungunu, baleeka basikama ndozi za nyoka ye bizinga byeti ceema, ntadi zeti budika, nitu kyozi-kyozi, yeka mpungu nzangala, menga luka, mfwemo za nkwikidi, ku matakuri vyoka, ku nua vyoka, yonso yonso mbakulu kwani, buna nge mwene Lunkanka twidi bingidi."
16. Bu kameni ta momo mamonsono, mboki bonga kunda ye kwe lokila, kansi buna sidi mana kanga mfunya momo. Vo mfunya kwandi, buna ka koma mbeele ko, kansi kanga fifutu ye kanga momo. Mfunya zankaka zena mu biila kyakebisa nitu andi kwa Lunkanka vo katomanga nitu ko, kadi vo ukalanga vo ntama beela ye zindozi za mbi ye mafina ye b.b., kansi bu kalembolo zaaba kyonso kisanga bobo vo bandoki evo bakisi, buna i ntumbu kwenda kangisa mfunya zandi mu nkisi. Si kazaaka nsuki za ntu andi evo zinzala evo fyataba fya nitu andi ye tuula va futu dya nlele ye kwe kangisa kwa nganga uvwidid Lunkanka lwandi. Una ta bonso bwabu:

Other people also come to confide their relics to Lunkanka. For example, if they get into a quarrel over some thing, such as an animal (chicken, goat) or slaves, etc.; when they think they have been cheated they come to put relics into Lunkanka. They take the hair of the head (in the case of a person) or the hair or tip of the tail of an animal, for their nkisi to bite on; then it goes where the offender is. They say:

"May it please you, our elders were not done out of their money, but here ours is being wasted. So do not sit idle, Lunkanka sir. They deceived, may they fail in their objective. They prepared medicines against us, that they might weaken and withdraw the curse. It shall not be, Lunkanka. Go where I send you, where they have stolen my goods, plunder and strike, sir. Put cramps in their legs, make them heavy, hack at their limbs. When they sleep, wake them with dreams of snakes and shining shells, bursting stones; may they shiver with high fever, vomit blood, their chests seized tight, diarrhea, vomiting... by whatever means, so shall your might be known, Lunkanka!"

When he has said all this, he takes up his bell used in the invocation and attaches the relics. In the case of relics a knife is not driven in but a little packet is attached. Some relics are there in order to confide one's body to Lunkanka for safe-keeping if one is not well. If, for example, he has been ailing for some time, with bad dreams and nightmares but does not know who is responsible, whether spirits or witches, he goes to attach his relics to the nkisi. He cuts hairs from his head, or nails, or a little piece from his loincloth, wraps them in a rag and has the nganga attach them to his Lunkanka, saying as follows:

17. Vo ngeye mwene Lunkanka, bu mweni bubu buna mpasi zingi yimonanga, yamana leeka lumbu byole kya ntatu, buna beela, ntu tatika ye ndozi za mbi ye mafina mamingi mankwerni mpe. Bu yidia, i tanda ye tanda. Bu yilembolo dia, tanda kwani nsimbi nsimbi. Kansi nge mwene Lunkanka, vo bakisi ba nzo bakunsanga bobo, buna kanga wakuta. A-a, ka bakisi ba nzo ko, bandoki beti kunsu bobo, buna nge mwene Lunkanka, zibula menga, dikula nsingu, koma mbeelee mu ntulu. Kansi a-a, bandoki ka bau ko, kansi va ntu kwandi bakubatekisanga, bantu naana kwani basanga bobo, buna nge mwene Lunkanka nzila zi bakibilanga kuzeebi aku zo ko. Kadi ndoki za nkento, ndoki za mbakala, a, bakisi ba nzo, naana ko bamaza, a-a ba nseke, naana bantu, naana bakundendanga, buna nge mwene Lunkanka bafwa meeso, bafwa makutu, bafwa mbombo, bafwa ntimbu, batimbuka, batabuka ngambu za nkanga langa, sa maaluu nkataba, nzundu zenguzula, wasa mabwongo mu maaluu ko, mwene Lunkanka, toma kuntala, kadi vindu dyami dyadi ngizi tuula mu nitu aku, buna ni me wa mvimba kwani ngizi kukikebisa, buna meeso maku kyekye, matu maku nkelo, bazyetila mu tembo, zyeta yau, bazyetila mu mpimpa, zyeta zau, vo mwini nge mpe mu mwini, maaluu maku nzanza ko, mwene Lunkanka.
18. Kamana sa bobo i futu dyena mfunya si kakanga momo nkisi, mboki vuba tiya. Bankaka buna ka bakanga nsuki vo nzala ko, kansi bakanganga zinsili zi bakanganga va mbata a mintu mu nsuki zi basisanga va ntumpa a ntu, mu kaka ntumpa ntu. Buna kyokyo bu kyeka vindu dyandi, buna i mwe kanga momo mwene Lunkanka. Buna i vuumunu kyandi kyokyo keele sweka momo nkisi wena ngolo. Buna vo bandoki, bakisi, bantu naana banzolele kundia nswalu, buna ka balendi ko, ka wakikandika.
19. Nkole myena momo Lunkanka, bila kyena vo i mpiku andi yenina bobo, i bila kya myasiilwa, kadi bonso bwazekwa nkole, i bobo mpe kana zeka bantu nsingu ye nkole bonso minatunungu zimpidi,

"Lunkanka, sir, you see me here suffering from many troubles; for two days now, and still on the third, I have been ill with headaches and bad dreams that oppress me. If I eat, I get thinner and thinner; if I don't eat, still I get thinner. But you, Lunkanka, if the spirits of the house are doing this to me, frustrate them. Ah, if not spirits of the house but witches are doing it, then do you Lunkanka shed their blood, twist their necks, drive knives into their chests. Ah, if not witches, but in front they are pushing ordinary people, then Lunkanka, the ways by which they wander you do not know. Whether female or male witches, yes, or house spirits, if not, water or land spirits, or people who are putting me down, then do you, Lunkanka, put their eyes out, make them deaf, may they die suddenly, stop in their tracks, fall unconscious and die; may their legs swell, hack at their limbs, make them collapse, Lunkanka. Look upon me, for I have come to put this relic in your body; so it is my entire self I have come to put in safe-keeping. Open your eyes, listen well. Though they travel in the storm follow them; if by night, follow them; if by day, pursue them also by day. May your feet be swift, Lunkanka!"

So saying, he attaches the packet containing the relic to the nkisi and explodes gunpowder. Some people, instead of attaching hair or nails, use the protection that they fix on their heads in the tuft of hair over the fontanelle to protect it; this becomes their "dirt," and so they attach it to Lunkanka. It is his life which he has thus hidden in the powerful nkisi. So if witches, spirits or ordinary people should want to eat him quickly, they will not be able to, he is protected.

The reason that Lunkanka includes a tumpline is that it is one of the services that he promises. Just as the tumpline is twisted, so will he twist its victims' necks; and as burdens are carried in a

i bobo mpe kana nata vuumunu kya muntu a dizinga mpe. Mboki bantu bankaka vo bayiza tuudisa minkole momo Lunkanka mu bila kya vo muntu bazaaka nkole ye baana bazeeki wo, ka bazolele tambudila ko, kadi wonga wa mambu, i kuma ndyoyo vwidu nkole bu kalembolo zaaba ndyoyo vengi bo, buna wele kangisa ya buku kyo kisiidi kebisa mu nkisi a Lunkanka, kidi ka batombila yandi ye sa mabeela. Kansi bankaka bayiza kangisa myo mu bila kya nkole banyibidi vo nitu andi kiizi kebisa mu nkisi, kadi i vindu dyandi dyodyo kanatanga, wanga yandi nkisi ke kunkengilanga momo nkole u kakedi natanga. I bobo bwena mpiku a nkisi mu nkole, i kuma yandi mwene Lunkanka ka lendi natunwa mu nzemba yankaka ko, kansi mu ya nkole kaka.

20. Nkisi myankaka myena mpiku mu natunwa mu mfumvu, kadi bonso mfumvu yikanganga bileko bya mpila mu mpila, i bobo buna kala ngolo za nkisi mu kangila bantu bena bila kwa nkisi wowo.
21. Veso kya nkasa kyena momo Lunkanka. Basa kyo mu bila kya muntu wadia nkasa ye mboki kyelolo kwandi, ka neenene andi ko, kansi lukidi kwandi, buna bafweti kunswaka kwandi mu ngulu, kansi vo zimbongo zazingi bavanasananga mu nswakulu a ndyoyo ulukidi nkasa, buna vana zo kaka ye ngulu mpe. I kuma ndyoyo ulombe nkasa vo kena ye zimbongo ko, buna lenda teka vo muntu mosi, kadi mfumu angana kana ukedi banzulwanga vo yandi i ndoki udianga bantu, kansi se kyongo muntu naana kwandi ka ndoki ko, se kutu vondwa kwandi mu naana ye tewa nsoki mpila yoyo. Vo ngodi au mu futa bonso bafutasananga, buna ndyoyo udiidi nkasa i veeso kya nkasa kana sala bonga ye kwe kanga mu Lunkanka, kidi Lunkanka kataana, kabeeta bobo bwala, bu bakutu kunta nsoki. Buna mwene Lunkanka bu kana kota ye fimba koko, buna vata dyo disindikulu Lunkanka i sengila- sengila ye mabeela ye fwa mpe, nate ye bana koodisa mfunya yoyo. Mboki bana mona mpolo.

basket on the back with the aid of a tumpline, so will he carry off the life of a living man. Some will put a tumpline in Lunkanka when it has been cut and those who did it will not admit to doing so for fear of a lawsuit; so, not knowing who the guilty party is, the owner will go to have the bit that remains confided to Lunkanka, that he may seek them out and inflict sickness upon them. Others come to fix things in [lest] others steal them; it is his body that he is confiding to the nkisi to look after, because it carries his dirt. This then is the service of the nkisi with respect to tumplines, and that is why Lunkanka may not be carried with any other sort of carrying band, but only a tumpline.

A similar feature of other minkisi is that they must be carried by means of a string such as is used to tie up all sorts of things; just so is the power of the nkisi to tie up people.

A fragment of *nkasa* poison bark is in Lunkanka. If someone should take the poison ordeal and pass it, not excreting but vomiting, they have to pay him a pig as compensation, or it may be that one is supposed to pay a lot of money in addition to the pig. If the person who demanded the ordeal has no money he may have to sell someone; for a good man to be thought a witch who eats people, when he is in fact nothing of the sort but a plain man and no witch, and for him to be put to death for nothing, is the height of malice. If they refuse to pay the regular compensation, the one who underwent the ordeal takes a fragment of the *nkasa* and fixes it in Lunkanka so that it may seize them in their village where they plotted this against him. Lunkanka goes there and sniffs about, and it afflicts the village with an epidemic of sickness and sudden death until they come to redeem the oath. Then they will recover.

22. Mbongo zena momo Lunkanka mu bila byole zenina. Bila kya ntete mu fuka nsoni andi, kadi kabufweni ko mu mona nsoni a nkisi ko, i kuma weti vwata nlele, kadi mu tala maneeno ma nkisi dyakanukunwa beni. Mboki bila kyankaka i mu zimfunya, kadi vo muntu wayibwa zimbongo ye ndyona wayiba zo ka zaabakana ko, buna ndyoyo una kwe vrika nlele mu luketo lwa mwene Lunkanka. Buna Lunkanka ke katombi ye vutula ndinda wa ngolo. Evo kayiba ko, kansi dyankaka dyabwa mu zimbongo, buna lenda mpe tuula mu nkisi.
23. Mbeele zozo mpe zena mu luketo, i zozo kasadilanga mu semba bantu vo dyankaka, kadi i zozo kakomanga mu ntulu, kadi vo muntu weti beela beela kwa lubanzi, buna babo bazeyi vo mwene Lunkanka siidi bobo. Vo weti luka menga, buna bateele, vo mbeele za Lunkanka zanlwekele momo mooyo. Vo muululu mpe, buna bateele, vo yandi lwekele mo. I kuma bantu baboo batinanga mbeele za Lunkanka, kadi una kambwa vo kamba ka ngeye ko wayibidi lekwa byobyoye evo dyonso dyambu dibindamene, buna nayizi wavola mbeele a mwene Lunkanka mu luketo ye mboki venda yo mpenda zitatu ye mboki songa yo nsonga zitatu ku ntangu ye mboki songanga yo mu ntulu aku nsonga zitatu, kidi twazaaba vo ka ngeye ko wavengi ya dyambu dyo ko. Kansi muntu bu kazeyi, vo yandi wavengi bo, buna kalendi vo vanga ko, kadi buna zeyi vo ka ntama ko si kavutulwa ndinda.
24. Fimbwanga mpe fyena momo Lunkanka fyena bilongo. Bilongo byakala momo i meeno ma mpidi ye nyoka zazoo za mbalu za kinteela zamana tuulwa momo ye nzala za mfwenge ye mbulu, kadi bila kyena vo bonso bwena mfwenge mu lumfwendede lwabaka nsusu, i bobo buna kala mwene Lunkanka mu luzaku lwaba kila bantu bena bila. Bonso bwena mbulu mu zola dia nsusu ye zimvumbi, i bobo Lunkanka mpe kana sa mu byabyo bi kamana sibulwa, kadi mbulu uvavanga zimvumbi zena mu mabulu. I bobo mpe mwene Lunkanka kana vava minkanu myamana swama mi kasibulwa ye b.b.

There are raffia cloths on Lunkanka for two reasons. The first is to hide his shame; it is not proper to see the shame of the nkisi, so he wears a cloth. To see the backside of a nkisi is strictly forbidden. The other reason is a matter of relics (tokens). If someone has had money (cloth) stolen from him and the thief is not known, he will wrap a cloth around the loins of Lunkanka. Lunkanka will seek out the [thief] and wreak vengeance. Or if not theft then some other matter involving raffia, which is put in the nkisi.

The knives in the back are the ones used to cast blame on people. They are the ones driven into the chest. If one should suffer from a prolonged pain in the ribs everybody knows that Lunkanka has done it. If he coughs blood they will say that the knives of Lunkanka have wounded him in the belly. Or if he bleeds from the nose, that Lunkanka has cut him. Therefore everybody fears the knives of Lunkanka, for it will be said, "Are you not the one who stole those things," or whatever matter is at issue. "Come now, pull out a knife from the back of Lunkanka, lick it three times, show it three times to the sun and then three times to your own breast, that we may know it is not you who did this." Someone who knew that he had done it would never perform [the ritual], knowing that before long he would suffer revenge.

The little packet that is in Lunkanka contains medicines, including teeth of vipers and of all snakes that bite with especial viciousness. Also, the claws of mongoose and jackal, so that the nkisi should be as active in seizing wrong-doers as the mongoose is eager to snatch chickens. As the jackal desires to eat chickens and corpses, so Lunkanka too should be, in every mission on which it is sent. The jackal digs up corpses from their graves; even so will Lunkanka scratch up hidden enemies against whom he has been invoked, and so on.

25. Ntoyo [=konki] zozo zasiwa mu dyambu dya yandi Lunkanka vwidu zo, kadi bonso ntoyo za nuni zibikulanga minsamu mya mfwilu, i bobo buna kala ntoyo za Lunkanka. Kadi vo mwene Lunkanka bwididi, - buna ntoyo zandi zeka toyo-toyo- toyo-keke-ke. Buna bantu bazeyi vo Lunkanka wabeki, kadi ntoyo zandi zeti vovo [sic]. I kuma beka nza wonga, kadi ka bazeyo ko vo nani wabakamene kwa ntoyo za Lunkanka mumu vata dyeto.
26. Nlunga wena mu laka dya Lunkanka wena mu dyambu dya kidi baboo bakaka malaka mau. Nga vo ka bwa ko, buna bantu baboo bana mana kala bivokodi ye bivokodi. I kuma bakanga malaka mau minsinga, vo kabeki minlunga ko, kansa laka ka dina kala vokodi ko, buna dilenda toma vimba ye dyau ka dikula subuka, kadi mwene Lunkanka wata dyo. Buna bafwe[nji] bukwa kwa ndyoyo uvwidu Lunkanka, kanyaka. Nga vo ka bwa ko dyendele bobo ye lembwa subuka.
27. Lusala lwa mbemba mpe lwena momo nkisi a Lunkanka, lwena bila kya vila, lau. Kadi bonso bu tumonanga mbemba, i nuni yidyengilanga ku yulu, buna baboo bazeyi vo sinsa kina kwiza fintama-ntama vava vata dyeto, kadi mbemba weti toma kina ye senguka ye tatamana va fulu kimosi. Buna batele vo kusenguka mbemba, kukala vila beni. I bobo mpe babanza buna kala mwene Lunkanka, kadi ndyoyo vwidu nkisi wowo, bu kayeni, vo mbemba weti senguka ye zyeta, buna zeyi vo vila beni. Buna weti kembidila ye ta vo: Sengula vila kufidimikani vila ko, mwene Lunkanka. Ti, ngid i kwenda nseke i nseke, ngidi kwenda mamba, i mamba ye mamba. E, kadi nani wandiidi ya vila di ko e. Sengulanga vila, kufidimikangani vila ko.
28. Ntaala yikatuala. Bu tumweeni mooko ma mwene Lunkanka ma kasa ku ntu, buna tuzeyi bila kyena bonso bwabu vo: Bonso ngudi una sa ntaala mu mwana andi ufwidu, udiidi bandoki, bakisi, Nzambi ye bonso toko dina dila ye nyonga mu nkento andi, mwana andi, ngudi andi, se diandi ye b.b., bididi [sic] mwene Lunkanka ye nkisi myankaka. Wasa bo mu songila bonso bana songa kyadi. Nga ntaala yoyo kayena mu naana ko, kansi mu kyadi kyakinene beni, wonga.

Ntoyo (that is, *konki*) whistles are included because they belong to Lunkanka. Just as ntoyo, the bird, announces news of death, so do the whistles of Lunkanka. When Lunkanka strikes, his ntoyo go "toyo-toyo-toyo- keke-ke!" Then everyone knows that Lunkanka has taken someone, for his ntoyo speak. Therefore they will be much afraid, for they do not know who in our village has been seized by the ntoyo of Lunkanka.

The collar around the neck of Lunkanka is there so that all should protect their necks. If it were not so, then everyone would develop tumors. So they tie strings around their necks, if they have no collars. If not a tumor, then the neck may swell and twist and burst open, for so Lunkanka decreed. If it happens, one would have to be treated by the owner of Lunkanka, to be healed.

The feather of a vulture is in nkisi Lunkanka on account of good luck. When we see the vulture hovering in the sky, everybody knows that there will soon be a party in the village, for the vulture is dancing, planing and continuing in one place. As the saying goes, "Where the vulture hovers, there will be prosperity." So it is with nkisi Lunkanka, for its owner, seeing the vulture in flight and hovering, knows that good fortune will occur. He rejoices and says: "Send me luck, do not reverse it, Lunkanka sir. Wherever I may go on land, wherever I may go in the waters. Who will take away my good fortune? Send luck upon me, do not turn it upside down."

The ntaala gesture. When we see the hands of Lunkanka raised to its head, we know the reason is this: Just as a mother clasps her hands over her head when her child is dead, eaten by witches, spirits, or God; or when a man weeps and bewails his wife, his child, his mother, his father, and so on, so mourns Lunkanka and other minkisi. It makes this gesture to resemble those who display grief. It is not a gesture to be made in vain, but only for great grief and fear.

29. Manene ma nkisi mabikwanga i ku matakua ma nkisi. I koko kubikwanga nkumbu manene ma nkisi, kansi muntu nkutu kalendi tala koko matakua ko, kadi buna beela kwa ngolo luna baka, kadi luna mona nsoni andi, buna yandi fwemene beni, i kuma lenda vonda. I kuma bantu vo bakambwa mu kwiza tala ku manene ma nkisi, buna ka balendi ko, kadi i nsisi a lufwilu yena koko. I kuma wonso wadiikusu ba ngolo beni, buna bakambwa, vo bana kwiza venda ku matakua ma Ngobila vo Lunkanka ye nkisi myankaka mya ngolo myena biteki vo bwankaka. Babanza vo wonso songolo matakua ma nkisi, buna meni levulwa kwa nkisi, kadi nsisi beni mu finga kwa nkisi, kadi ndimbu yambi yoyo.
30. Yandi mwene Lunkanka va kyakala vo zakala va nsi ye bantu bameni tandama, kani mu bukwa vo mu komwa tuvuya vo mfunya, kansi vo una bunduka va nsi, buna baboo bena vovo bafweni mana senduka va nsi, ka bafweti saala bazakala ko kadi mfumu bwidi ye mboki ka bufweni ko mu mona matakua ma nkisi wowo ubwidi va nsi. Mboki nganga a nkisi wowo una bonga lemba-lemba ye zokuna ye lemba bonzo dydodyo kwa baboo beele leekingi va nsi ye yimbila nkunga wau: Lembamanga ngizi lembi. E, ma Lunkanka. Wa, lembwa lembamanga. Mboki ta bonso bwabu: Vumbukeno ye tensika kooko va ntu ye ta: E, napii, nadingi, lambikanga mbeele, kutedimisa mbeele ko, mwene. Mono i mpati aku, mono i nganga aku. Bukila mpolo, wabukila ku ndembo. Buna baboo i mboki si bavumbuka, bantu baboo.
31. Tutu bya tiya byena momo Lunkanka byaswama, kidi byaswamanga tiya. Tiya toto mu leemisanga ntima a nkisi ye wonso weti kwiza tuudisa mfunya ye sala vubula tiya, buna tuna tusiidi, i basalanga tuula momo. Nkisi wowo waluta zengulwanga zinsusu kwa baana ba kana beelanga vo mwana ufwiidi evo dyonso dyonso dyambu dibenina nkesi. Nsusu bu yeti zengwa ye baboo bameni zakala ye ndyona uvwidi nkisi bu kameni sa nsibu ye baana beele landa nganga bana sa nsibu bonso bubazolele myo siila. Mboki nganga una zenga nsusu ye yambula yo, kansi nsusu wonso yele fwila mu maalula buna i yandi i ndoki.

The backside of a nkisi is its buttocks. It is absolutely forbidden to look at the buttocks, on pain of a severe illness. If anyone looks upon his shame, the nkisi gets very angry and can kill. Therefore, if one is asked to look at the backside of a nkisi he will not do so, for the danger of death is in it. It is therefore a terrific insult to tell anyone to lick the buttocks of Ngobila or Lunkanka or any other powerful nkisi in a statue or whatever. It is thought that whoever is shown the backside of a nkisi has been insulted by the nkisi; such an insult by nkisi is a bad sign and very dangerous.

When nkisi Lunkanka is seated on the ground, with people arranged in front of it for treatment or an oath or curse, if it should fall over everybody present must fall to the ground. They may not remain seated, for if the chief falls over it is not seemly to see his buttocks. Then the nganga of the nkisi takes lemba-lemba leaves and makes an asperge with which to sprinkle all who are lying on the ground, and he sings: "I have come to pacify. Hear, Lunkanka, sir, be calm." Then he says, "Stand up, place your hand on top of your head and say: Be quiet, be calm, let your knife lie, sir, do not brandish it. I am your priest, your nganga. Who seeks health, let him be in peace." Then everybody stands up.

Powder flasks are hidden in Lunkanka so that they hide the gun-powder. This powder is to fire up the heart of the nkisi, put there by those who come to commit relics to it and explode powder. They put what is left in the flasks. This nkisi often has chickens sacrificed to it when children are ill or one has died, or in some other bitter dispute. When the chicken is ready and everybody is seated, the owner of the nkisi makes his invocation and all those who have sent for the nganga make whatever declarations they like. Then the nganga kills the chicken and lets it go. The person at whose feet it dies is the witch.

32. Sidika nganga. Mu nkisi wowo wa Lunkanka mwena nzala ye nsuki bi basidikila nganga. Mu sidika nganga dyena bonso bwabu. Vo muntu wavanduswa nkisi wa ngolo, ye mu nkisi wowo mwena mwina vo: Lumbu kifwidi nganga yandi fweti kwe kunsidika [teba bilongo] nga vo keele ko, buna nganga una kala ku bwala mu tomba nganga yandi. I kuma nganga fweti sidika nganga yandi, nga buna beele nandi ku mpemba. Nsidukulu yena bonso bwabu:

33. Mfumu yayinene yavanda nkisi mya nene bu kafwidi, buna kalendi kadilwa ko, ka dinsanga ko dina daka nate ye kameni sidukwa. Ndyona ubavanda nkisi wowo wa sindukulu, bu kalweki vovo vata, buna wakidi teka kukikandika beni ye teka mana kaka nzo yoyo yena mvumbi ye mavambu mpe ku kaka. I mboki si kakwenda mona mvumbi yoyo. Kansi ntete una kwe tumbika ntu momo nzo ntumbika zizole ye ya ntatu i tumbu kota momo nzo.

34. Mboki mwaka bonzo dya mabwongo dimeni sanga bilongo momo nitu a ndyoyo mvumbi ye vova: Katelama, kuta, kamona mu kinganga kyandi, kuta kani kuzuka, kuta, kaswama mu kindoki vo kinganga kyandi, kuta. Sa nalengi-lengi bonso vembe ye mumpoko, makungunu mpoka-mpoka, maalu ye mooko zenguzuka. Kamana mona, sa kidunga kusani mataku nzanza ko ye b.b. Mboki bonga luvemba ye sonya ye kusa mu nsuka za meeso ye mbulu ye zunga nkumba ye tombula va luvwamu ye mu maalu ye nsiilu a minlunga ye mooko ye nsansi a kooko ye va ntulu, tuuka ku kooko ye vyookisa ku kooko. Kansi bu beti sa bobo, buna weti yimbila nkunga ewu: E, yaaya, ma, bula buviidi, ma, mfumu. E, ma, mfumu yobele mpemba ya naane. E, ma, mfumu yobila mpemba beto twabyal'e. Bu kameni sa bobo i longo si kateba. Kansi kyonso longa kabonga, buna una kyo toola nkumbu, kansi va kimosi ye nkunga: Bongele luvemba ye teela bonso ebu: vembula mpati, wavembula nganga. Mboki tondo, buna kitondi mpati, kina tondo nganga, e matondo, kuna mputu matuukidi, nganga tondele kwandi, muntu naana tondele kwandi.

Dedicating the nganga. In this nkisi are the hairs and nails by which they dedicate (protect) the nganga, as follows. If someone has had a powerful nkisi constituted for him, and it carries a taboo that on the day he dies his nganga must dedicate him (prepare medicines) lest [his ghost] return to the village seeking his successor. So the nganga must send his predecessor on his way to the land of the dead. The dedication is as follows:

When an important chief who composed major nkisi dies, he may not be mourned; not a tear may fall until he has been dedicated. When the one who composed the nkisi of dedication arrives the village, he is first careful to protect himself and to put a cordon around the house where the body is, and at the crossroads. Then he goes to see the body, first bowing [?] his head three times towards the house and entering on the third bow.

Then he prepares a *mabwongo* lotion of leaves, sprinkles it on the head of the corpse and says: "If he arises, seize him; if he appears by his magic, wound him; if he hides under his witchcraft, strike him. May he be soft like *vembe* and *mumpoko* leaves, his arms and legs relaxed. When he appears, may he be casual, not aggressive," and so on. Then he takes white and red clays and marks [the body] at the corners of the eyes and the forehead, around the navel, down to the groin and the legs, and on the chest, from one arm to the other. While doing so he sings this song: "Eh, the great one is dead, the chief; eh, the chief has been painted white, he is at peace, we may govern." Then he scrapes medicines. For whatever medicine he takes up he announces the name, together with the song. So, taking up chalk he recites: "Chalk, may it 'whiten' the magic, the magician." Then mushroom (*tondo*), "that the magic and the magician may be respected;"

35. Diba. E, maama tweka ku dib'e. E, maama sa ku dib'e, nganga ku diba ndoki ku diba, bafwa ku diba.
36. Luyala. E, ma, tuyalene nau e. Yala ndoki wayala bimpalu bya fuku ye bya mwini. E, ma, yala kuyambalani e.
37. Nkandikila. E, ma, tukandamene nau e. Kandika niyu, wakandika mafula. E, ma, kandika, kukandukulani e. Kandika ndoki, wakandika ndoki, kandika bafwa baku.
38. Mpezomo. E, maama, mpezomo zimbeki e. E, ma, waleka-waleka, sikamanga e. E, ma nsolo zinsusumuni.
39. Kala zima. Zima mpati, wazima nganga. Ndoki zileemanga zima. Bafwa, bakisi baleemanga, zima kuleemisani.
40. Meeno ma nyoka za mbalu. Ta, kusakulani, wata bandoki, ta bafwa, ta kusakulani ko ye b.b.
41. Longo byabyo buna byena bifweni kanikina bafwa ye bandoki ye vutula ndinda. Bu bimeni tebwa nampiaa, buna i bonso si kavanga ye tuula byo mabonzo mole, kadi bonzo dimosi dimosi ku lumoozo ye ku lubanzi lwa lubakala ye bonzo dimosi kana tuula malavu ye bulumuna va ntima ye va ntu. Mboki kana bonga mbeele ye teba nkundu va luse ye ku nsi a mpakani ye nsuki za ntu ye tenda zinzala zazoo, mboki bonga ye bunda ye bonzo dina dya ntatu dyena bilongo bi katebelenge ye soka nzala ye nsuki zankaka ye kwe maka ku nludi wowo wena mvumbi ye sa nsibu: E, ndoki a mbakala, ndoki a nkento ya nzaidi lufundu, buna nge nkenge a mputu teeta, wayalula ye b.b. Mboki kubula nzongo ena: ku wungu, i ntumbu dumuka va nsi ye yimbila nkunga: E, ngangula Yombo, wamana tumbwa meni semwa, lwazimbakana nlongo, mweni myo, ngangula Yombo. Mboki kwenda vampambu ye yinama ye kuluta va nsi ye sa bonso busanga ngo ena: kwika- kwika-kwika (evo vika-vika-vika). Mboki bu kameni sa bobo, i mwe yendi kwandi ntiinu ku vata dyandi. Kalendi tala ku nima ko.

Diba mushroom, against "forgetting."

Luyala, "may we rule over them, rule over witches, over apparitions by day and by night. Rule, do not relax."

Nkandikila, "may we be sheltered from them. Guard the ways strictly. Forbid, do not ease up. Forbid witches, forbid the dead."

"Mpezomo [ndingi resin] I have, may the sleepers wake, spirits are aroused."

Charcoal, "may the ardor of witchcraft abate."

The fangs of poisonous snakes: "bite witches." And so on.

All these medicines are needed to enjoin the dead and the witches and to effect retribution. When all have been properly ground up, he prepares two [sic] packets of medicines, one to put on each side of the chest and one to which palmwine is added and squeezed over the heart and on the head. Then with a knife he cuts hair from the eyebrows, the armpits and the head, also all the nails, and wraps them in a third packet of the medicines he has prepared. He climbs onto the roof of the house where the body is and calls: "You witch, whether male or female, bearing any grudge, be gone," and so on. He fires his gun, pow! jumps down to the ground and sings: "Ah, Yombo the smith, who was raised up, was consecrated; who forgot the rules has acknowledged them." Then he goes to the crossroads, crouches down, scratches on the ground and imitates the leopard: kwika-kwika! After doing this he runs away to his own village, without looking behind him.

42. Kansi yoyo nkutu vo ya nganga Lulendo yibeedi mpe, buna kalendi tumbu kwenda ku vata dyandi ko, kansi una kwenda ku nzo yena nyombo ye bonga mbeelee a Lulendo ye kwenda veena nkulu ye ta: Ndoki a nkento, ndoki a mbakala wakuzaabidi lufundu, buna ko ku una kwenda meeso maku nkyekye, matu maku nkelo, mooko maku nsala, maalu maku nsala bendila mu tembo, wenda yau, kwendila mu tembo myatiina mu ntu mya bandoki baku bakukolele nkezo ko, taata, nayendi kwaku taata, kansi bonso bakuzaabidi lufundu, kadi vatetolo dya nkandi si lwamonana kweno ko, taat'e. Mboki si katula nkelo wowo u kakubudi mu lubanzi evo va ntandu a mooyo. Kansi buna utekele mana sokama mu nzongo ye bilongo ye nsadi, kidi kakedilanga bandoki ye banganga nandi balembolo kwiza ku nsidika vo bena ye mboki kabiizidi ko. Nga ndyoyo wizi ku nsidika kasiidi mu bungu ko. Mboki mbeelee a Lulendo si kakuntambika ye ta: Nayendi kwaku mpemba mpolo. Kansi bwe? Mbeelee aku a Lulendo ya kwami una sisi ku nseke a mpang'e? kana tuba. I mbeelee kana tuba. Yandi mvumbi i mbeelee kana yaka nadaa vo kooko. Nganga i zyoka kwana [sic] kuna nzo andi.

43. Mboki yandi nganga una kukibyeka koko nzo andi ye toma kaka nzo andi mu bilongo ye mafula ma nzo andi mpe. Kansi mboki zinzala zi kasiidi tenda muna nyo[m]bo ye nsuki ye nkundu za mfwokolo, i byau kana kwe tuula mu nkisi wonso wena mpaka beni, b.v. Lunkanka, Ngobila, Bunzi, Malwangu, Ndundu ye Matunga watunga nti ku mfinda, katunga beto bantu ko ye b.b. Nkisi myomyo ye myankaka babanzila, vo myena ngolo mu simba bafwa ye bandoki mpe. I kuma i myomyo baluta kangisa mfunya.

But if the dead man had been nganga of Lulendo he may not go directly to his village but goes to the house where the body is and takes the knife of Lulendo. He addresses the body: "If a witch, male or female, held a grudge [and caused your death], go then with your eyes open, your ears keen, your arms and legs strong; if they ride in the storm, pursue them;...

...whoever held a grudge against you. May we not see the place of death, "of cracking palm nuts." Then he takes the medicine he has prepared and puts it on the chest, having first primed it with magical ammunition that he might keep guard against witches and dissatisfied magicians, that any who came to do harm might not succeed. Then he presents the knife of Lulendo to the deceased, saying: "Now go to the grave in peace. But will you leave the knife of Lulendo here?" it is the knife speaking. The corpse has the knife put in its hand, and the nganga runs away to his own house.

Then the nganga blesses himself in his house and protects it and the approaches with medicines.

The nails he cut from the corpse, with the hairs in a packet, he will put into a particularly fierce nkisi, such as Lunkanka, Ngobila, Bunzi, Malwangu, Ndundu, or "Matunga who bores a tree in the forest, do not bore us people," etc. These and other minkisi are thought to be very strong in catching witches and the dead, so they are preferred to fix relics in.

44. I kuma ngongo yoyo sidika nganga yandi, buna byo bi kasiidi baka momo mvumbi i mwe byo kanga mu mwene Lunkanka. Bu kalweki, buna una toma kamba Lunkanka, kidi kana leeka mu kenganga ya nganga yo ko. Una ta bonso bwabu ti: Ya nganga kasidika kwandi, ngelele kunsidika ko, vana kala mabanza makundata, buna ngeye mwene Lunkanka teka matu, wateka mpuku. Kantanguna kuna bikinda ku keele ti: Ngyeti yalanda nganga yami, buna nge Lunkanka kanga, wakuta, sa nalengi-lengi keti vembe, keti mumpoko, kenda yendilanga muna nseko ya ngumbi ya nkwakula. Kendila ya londe, meno ya ndimba. Kendila ya ndimba, meno ya senda. Kunse kumwesa ko, kansa sa mu luvengo, twavengana nau. Buna kana kuntangunina mu kwiza kumfina, buna kanga kukangulani ko. Kafwe ntimbu, katimbuka ye b.b. Bu kameni sa nsibu mpila yoyo, buna i nzala ye nsuki ye vakani ye nkundu si kakanga va futu ye kanga momo nkisi a Lunkanka, i mwendo andi.
45. Veso kya mfulu-tutu kyena momo Lunkanka, kyena mu dyambu dya bonso mfulututu kazyetanga mu makanga mu tomba mfilu ye by-ankaka bi kadilanga, kansa vo yandi mfulututu una mona muntu, buna i ntumbu vutula ntu andi mu ngudi, kidi kana monika ko. I bobo buna kala mwene Lunkanka, buna yandi lenda swama bonso buswamanga mfulututu ye lembwa monika, ngatu bila kyaswama bandoki ye bakisi bankaka: kidi bakisi bankaka bu bazyetanga buna balenda nwana mu fuku dya mvimba.
46. Yandi Lunkanka mu ntete bu kyakala wadi mfumu andi, buna mu fuku toma zyeta mu vata dya mvimba ye madibu mandi i dokolo-dokolo ye mboki dila beni ye nyonga. Fuku dyankaka kazyetila dyo mu madibu, buna dina dyankaka kwiza mu nsansi. Bila kyena mbatu mu fina bantu, mbatu mu tomba mabungu mandi mwa nlaka.

Having despatched his nganga to the land of the dead, he fixes the things he has just taken from the corpse to Lunkanka. When he arrives he informs Lunkanka, that [the nkisi] may cease looking for the old nganga. He says: "Th old nganga has been sent on his way. If he should think to come and take me, do you, Lunkanka, open your ears, take up the quarrel. If in the graveyard he should say, 'I will go find my nganga,' do you Lunkanka seize him, bind him, make him weak, soft like *vembe* and *mpoko*, let him wander in the wilderness of the partridge. Keep watch on the hill, I in the valley. Do not let him appear, be strict, let us not meet. If any should propose to attack me, do not relax; may he die suddenly, catch him in mid-air," and so on. Having uttered this exhortation, he knots the nails, and hair from the head, armpits and pubes, in a packet that he fixes in nkisi Lunkanka, and goes his way.

The shell of a tortoise is there in Lunkanka because the tortoise goes about in the bush looking for mfilu- fruits and other things that it eats, but when it sees a human being it immediately draws its head inside, so as not to be seen. So likewise Lunkanka can hide himself as the tortoise does and not be seen by witches and other bakisi. If there are other bakisi about, they might fight the whole night long.

At first when Lunkanka was with his late master, at night he would often walk about throughout the village with his dog-bells going *dokolo-dokolo* and wailing and keening as well. One night it would be dog-bells, another night the *nsansi*-rattle. The reason was to attack people magically or to pursue serious grievances.

47. Bu kakana natwanga kwa wadi nganga andi, buna ndyoyo unneti kalendi katala ku nima ko, naana ko nsingu yendelele koko nima, kadi zekele yo. Mboki bu lulweki va mamba nkutu, buna tabula mave ma nkunzu ye tuba nkolomuna zozo mu mamba. Vo kusiidi bo ko, buna si natadi kwaku nyoka zeka zivyoka ku sambu zivituka ku sambu ye lenda tatukwa. Kansi bu wena ye Lunkanka ye mboki tatukulu, buna nase vo ye muna mbongo ukala.

48. Mboki nge unneti bu bwidi va nsi, buna si nafukama vovo nsi ye nakundi ye ta vo: Mfukamene kinkombo, mfukamene kintaba. Taata, vumbula nsingu, kutengikani nsingu ko. Yati mvindi a sangu kwandi walevula nganga, zimbakana kazaaba ko, mwene, kusu-kusu kyasa beno banzambi. Mboki kunda ku mweko ye ku mweko ye kunda ku zulu ye mboki vutuka kunda nkunda zitatu ndambu zazole ye mboki ku yulu. Kansi buna mooko keti teka kusa va nsi i mboki si kakunda. Bu kameni kunda mboki si katoma lediba mu vumbula ye tula ku ntu vo mu lubanzi bonso buna tunwanga mpidi, mboki i kwenda konso ku kakeni.

When he was being carried by his late nganga, the one carrying him could not look behind him or turn his head backward, for that would be to twist his neck. If he arrived at any watercourse he had to tear off green leaves and throw them as markers into the water. If he failed to do so, he would see snakes writhing to and fro across his path and might be bitten. If he has Lunkanka with him and is bitten, [?]

If the one carrying him should fall, he had to kneel down there on the ground and salute [the nkisi] and say: "I kneel in apology, I kneel like a goat [as though to a chief]. Relax your neck, sir, do not stiffen it. Take away the cornstalk that nganga insulted, let it be forgotten, sir, let there be no hurts such as you spirits inflict." Then he makes an obeisance to either side and upwards, and then again three times to each side and upwards; first he rubs his hands on the earth and then makes the gesture. Afterwards he gets up carefully and puts [the nkisi] on his head or against his chest, as a *mpidi*-basket is carried, and goes on his way.

Nkondi

The *minkisi* of this group, under the name "nail fetishes," are probably of all Kongo sculptures the ones best known in Europe (Lehuard 1980). *Nkondi*, however, are not necessarily "nailed" at all, and the name does not indicate a clearly defined class. Some other *minkisi* are nailed but were not called *Nkondi*.

Nkondi means "hunter," specifically one who hunts alone as opposed to those who hunt in groups. The mission of *Nkondi* is to hunt down witches and the violators of contracts. The nailing is a form of adjuration, or rather provocation, in which the *nkisi* is "injured" so that, in anger, it may inflict a like injury on wrong-doers. Nails are not essential, and *Nkondi* can also be provoked by insults.

The representatives of Nkondi in the collection are:

Nkondi	19.537
Mwana a Nkondi	19.538
Nkondi a Mamba	19.1316
Nkondi Nsanda	19.1359
Nkondi	19.1394
Nkondi	19.1395
Nkondi Malwadi	19.1398

Mukimbungu
Kingoyi
Lolo
Lolo
Mayombe
Mayombe
Mayombe

In addition there is Mavungu (L.726; LKIII, pl.1), which (though not called Nkondi) looks like most Nkondi, as does Lunkanka (q.v.). No text has been found for Mavungu or for Nkondi Malwadi.

Most of Laman's text about Nkondi (LKIII:88-90) is a translation of his own reporting (LKM:1010-15), with minor extracts from several of his contributors. Although the main outlines of the concept and uses of Nkondi are well known, it will be useful to give some original texts here, if only because many of the terms and other details now in circulation among scholars (for example, in the book by Lehuard) have been doubly decontextualized: they have been extracted from Laman's English text, where in turn they appear abstracted from unidentified KiKongo cahiers. Examples include the names *nkondi ya nkoma*, *ya ntilumuka*, which come from cahiers 27 and 138, respectively, and *nkondi a kiko kya nkuni*, which comes from Laman's own description of nkisi Mwana Nkondi.

The figurine Mwana Nkondi, "child of Nkondi," from Kingoyi, originally bore Laman's own catalogue number "142." It appears in photograph no.151:3 among the photographs of Laman's collection made in 1926. At that time it carried on its back a relatively huge bundle of sticks, held in place by a metal ring around its neck and another around its body. By the time the drawing on the catalogue card was made, the bundle of sticks and one ring had disappeared. By 1985 the remaining ring had disappeared. These missing features, however, are essential to the meaning of the figure. Laman tells us (LKM:1023), "It has a bundle of firewood (*kiko kya nkuni*) on its back, held on by clamps, as it were a heavy burden. When Nkondi attacks someone this heavy burden is forced upon him and crushes him, with much pain."



1919.1.538. Anthropomorphic, male figurine, formerly carrying a large bundle of wood clamped to its back by two metal rings. An amulet for nkisi Nkondi (Mwana Nkondi, 'child of Nkondi'); 13.4 cm. Kingoyi.

Nkondi (Mayombe)

Female Nkondi statues from Mayombe, each with her child on her back, are described in the following text by Demvo of Kingoyi. The name that the nganga of this Nkondi takes is Ma Mwanda. The procedure for infuriating the nkisi is described in some detail, with the interesting implication that, for this Nkondi at least, the nail was expected to fall out upon the successful completion of Nkondi's mission.

Demvo, cahier 27; Kinkenge

Teki kiankoma vo Nkondi. Nkondi wena nkumbu yoyo, kadi ubikwanga makambidila ndoki ye mivi. Vo muntu weti bela bela kwangolo, vo waloto ndozi mu bantu vo bafwa, buna diambu diandi mu kambidila mu makakanu kase kilutila teso. Vo muntu wayibulu lekwa kiandi evo yandi beti kwika ti yandi vengi bo, buna ba mu sakanga, kidi kakambidila wonso vengi bo.

Yandi Nkondi watuka mu nlangu. Funza bu katale vo bantu beti diakasana, buna watubisa fulu mu nlangu. Mu fulu diodio mwatuka nkuyu, mbo muntu waleka tulu, buna Funza wakamba muntu kenda ku nlangu mu bonga Nkondi, kidi kakebila bwala mpasi bandoki balembwa dia bayau. Buna muntu weka nganga wayenda tombula nkondi ye mwana wankondi. Nkumbu zau zazi: Ngudi nkondi Lungwedi, mwana Manswela. Ngudi nkondi vo kota Lungwedi diambu diandi mu bwila, mbo kavana kwa Manswela kedia ye nwa menga. Vo keti yika baka ko, buna Manswela wakwe dididi ngudi andi vanima kidi ka mpana mbizi.

Lunitu lwa nkondi lweni mu teki kia nti. Teki biobio biamana valwa ye biazongo moko mole ye malu mole, mbo ni meso ye nwa ye mbombo ye matu (makutu). Biatoma halwa nkiati ka mwamuntu fiankenke. Mboki va moyo va tulwanga mfumbu. Va fulu kiokio biatulungu vovo biabi: Lusaku saku, luyala, ngongo nzadi, kazu, nsuki zanganga ye bala banganga, buna bina tulwa va moyo mbo ni tula mwa-mbezi fie-kumba-kumba hoho. Mwa mbezi fiofio i mfumu momo kalendi kunkana ko, mbo ni baduka ntima hoho yamukuki yina, toma keba bilongo biobio bitululu mu vuma kiokio. Mbo ni balwika mwanlele mu luketo lwankondi.

Nail sculpture, or Nkondi. Nkondi is called by this name because it is said to ambush witches and thieves. If anyone is seriously ill and sees people or the dead in dreams, then Nkondi makes it his business to lie in wait at intersections for those up to no good. If someone has had something stolen and suspects so-and-so, they supplicate this nkisi, that he may trap whoever did it.

Nkondi came from the water. When Funza saw that people were eating one another, he created a whirlpool, from which came a spirit. Then, when a man was dreaming, Funza told him to go to the water and fetch Nkondi, that it might look after the village and stop the witches from eating the people. So the man became the priest who went to bring up the Nkondi and her child. The name of the Nkondi is Lungwedi ("Talk"); of her child, Manswela ("Tears"). When the mother catches something, she gives it to Manswela so that the child may eat and drink blood; if she doesn't get anything, Manswela bites her mother's back to demand food.

The body of Nkondi is a wooden figure, properly carved, with two arms and two legs, eyes, mouth, nose and ears, just like a little human being. In the belly is put a medicine-package in which there is *lusaku-saku*, *luyala*, calabar beans, kola-nut, and hairs from the priest and his apprentice. Close to it they insert a little metal blade. The owner is obliged not to remove this blade, nor remove the packet; the medicines must not be disturbed. Then they wrap a cloth around the loins of Nkondi.

Nkondi ukebolwanga mu ntete wantoko watoma tungwa mbote beni mu kana lambalala ntangu zazonsono ye mwa Manswela. Yondo mwa Manswela watentamanga ha ntandu moyo wa Lungwedi. Yandi wahangudulungu mwanzo fiafike mu bana kala yakwa kaka. Mpila mosi diodio taku diadinene beni diena ye wena ngolo mu kanga muntu i kuma kahangudulu nzo bobo. Mwa nzo andi bu wamana tungwa, buna imwe musingika ha mpakani vo ha kisungu. Bu kavandwanga, buna ngudi nganga una teka kamba kikumu bonso bwabu: Yika-yika, banda-banda kiodie wihu!

Mboki yandi nganga intumbu tona nkunga wau: Nganga kila mpemba ma Mwanda [le nom de ngudi a nganga. L.] Nganga na bimwadike, ma nganga nganga nabimwadike ma Mwanda e. Mboko nibadika kila mamoni mu nsoso zameso ye zungidila meso ku nsi mamoni ye va mbunzu. Mbo bala banganga mpe bana badika kila mpemba ye musoni bonso ngudi nganga.

Mbo ngudi nganga nibwesa kikumu bonso bu tekedi mboni tona nkunga wansakumununu bala banganga bonso bwabu: Babasakumuni ku banganga, nganga na mpemba, a he manganga wadi meno. Bu kameni balonga nkunga, mboko babadika kuba lusaba lwahandila nkisi vo fulu kiankisi kiazungu kwa nti mitatu. Mu nti miomio mwasungwa lundala lwantwenia lwabaswa mu ndambu zole. Mandala mbwandi mpe matulwa va ntandu ye masisia mabwongo bana kwe ledeki mu nsoso zaminti.

Mboko kamana sa bobo weti bakamba vo yandi Nkondi una kala nkengi mu bilekwa ye bandoki, kadi nkuyu wizi biala muteki kiokio. Vo yandi nkondi wenzi bwila muntu, buna nate ye nganga una lombwa vwa, mbo kelemba mankesi mankondi, buna nkondi yambusi mbevo vo kasidi kibakila ngolo mu tana nitu ko. Nganga una bo sa ntangu zazonsono.

Mu nitu nkondi mu komwanga bitoto mwabisengo, kidi yandi nkondi kakala nganzi mu diambu diazimputa zandi ye sa ngolo mu nitu muntu, kadi yandi unsakisi komotono bitoto, i kuma wakwenda kanganga muntu vengi diambu diatengama, mpasi kitoto kibankoma kiayika katuka. Nga bu keti nloka yo keti nlele ku taku ye badika sindika nkondi kwa bonso bakatumini kwa yandi.

Nkondi is kept in a good, well-woven basket in which it lies at all times, together with Manswela, which is placed on top of Lungwedi's belly. It is kept apart in a little house, because this is a real bad piece, very well able to hurt someone, that's why it is put in this house. When the house has been built, the nkisi is leaned in a corner. When it is to be activated, the priest in charge first says the following spell: "*Yika-yika, banda-banda, kiodie wihu!*"

Then the priest sings this song: "The priest marks with chalk, Ma Mwanda, the priest with stripes, eh." He begins to put marks at the corners of his eyes, with rays under them and on his forehead. The apprentices do likewise with white clay and red clay.

Then the priest chants as before a song of blessing for the apprentices, like this: "They are blessed in magic, priests with chalk, magic for you."

When he has taught them this song, they prepare an enclosure for the nkisi, surrounded by three plants, including a young palm-branch split in two. Other branches are put on top, with *mansisya* and *bwongo* tied to the ends.

Having done that, he tells them that Nkondi is to watch over property and witches, for the spirit has come to reside in the statue. If Nkondi attacks anyone, it will only relax its fury when the priest invokes it, and then it will release the sick man, not having the power to destroy his body. The priest always does this.

In the body of the nkisi iron spikes are driven so that Nkondi may be angry on account of its wounds and work vigorously in the body of its victim, who is the occasion for the spikes to be driven; the nkisi attacks the wrongdoer, so that the spike may come out. For the invocation, he girds himself and begins to send Nkondi in pursuit of his designated victim:



19.1.1394. Anthropomorphic, female statue, with female figurine attached; blades, driven into the torso, long nail through the ears; bracelets, skirt presumably concealing medicines. Nkisi Nkondi, Mayombe.



19.1.1395. Anthropomorphic, female statue, with female figurine attached; blades, driven into the torso; bracelets, medicines packed between the legs. Nkisi Nkondi, Mayombe.

Mbo yandi nganga sidi kikunda vakoko ye kama mante mu zizi kiankondi ye ta vo wihu! Wihu! Wihu! Tana wabeta Lungwedi lwangwaku! Watwa, walula, ngwaku! Sa mbombo mu nsi, wasa mu yulu! Vukula nkundu zabuko bwaku, zamunza diaku zazi wadila kasa bwanga! Bula bwenzi nkondi bangulu bahuta bankombo bahuta! Lungwedi lwangwaku. Lola baluhu, bababi twatungila bwala! Wavumina mpimpa, unsi me be hamutu Wihu! Wihu! Wihu! E yaya mwana mi Eyaya mwana ami! E yaya mwan'ami Mbo nintumbu yimbila nkunga bonso ena: E yaya mwana ufwidu, kwa kubanga makaya ko. E yaya bwedi ntedi, kwa kubanga makaya ko.

Bo keti kwe sabo, buna weti kuba makaya manlangu. Mbo nitangu muna ye yimbila nkunga bonso ena diaka: E yaya, e, meyami ye yanga. E yaya e meyami ye yanga. Bu keti sa bobo buna weti boka ye ta honso ena: Ya Ndambe wu! Twala mfula twakubula mu mvumbi yifwidu. Tu, tu, tu, wa zambi zena. Ya Ngoma twala mfula twakubula mu mvumbi, kadi zazi zambi zena. Tunia, tunia, tunia, nio bwesa! Tunia, tunia, tunia, nibwau mfula zaluhu zena.

Bu keti sabobo buna weti kwe tebi kintwenga kia mu mvumbi. Kintwenga kiokio mwa sokwa minlenge mia mvumbi ye nkongi ye nkundu ye nzala. Mboko kabonga dia-dia dianwinu nsunga kakomba fuma. Mboko tona nkunga: Ngwe nunu mfuku mota, ngwe nunu mfuku mbola. Bonga mwatadi ye komba. Mbele yena ngolo zankondi, nkondi lenda tumba zenga bala balezi vo nkanu wafwana mu kanda diodio buna lutidi dia bala balezi. Buna nkunga bonso na: Kanwa mukoko, lemina, kanwa malavu lemina, nahana mutima, lemina, kanwa mukoko lemina e, e, e, lemina. Bonga kambu kiamunkanga ye komba nakwakwa ye tona nkunga bonso ena: Nzingamani kwami nzala kadianga zingamani ko. E zingamani kwadi nzala kadianga zingamani ko.

Nganga vo zimeni fwa, buna sumukini. Vo ntima yaduku va moyo a nkondi yivambukidi ye katuka, buna sumukini, buna nkuyu wukedi hoho ntinini, Vo una vedila, buna bana tula bala banganga koko mu vanda kidi nkondi yavutuka kala diaka bonso yakala. Nkondi kalendi vandwa kwa nkento ko, kansi kwa bakala kaka ya nandungu.

The priest puts his rattle on his wrist and spits in the face of Nkondi and says, "*Wihu! Wihu! Rage, strike! Ngwaku!* Smell out on the earth, in the sky! Grab your mother-in-law by the pubic hair! *Wihu, wihu!...*" [songs, imprecations]

While doing this they prepare water plants, announcing them and singing another song, like this: "*E yaya, e, meyami ye yanga.*" While so doing they cry out, "Ya Ndambe wu! Put out the gunpowder we exploded for the dead body, it's real bad, tu! tu! Ya Ngoma, pass the powder we exploded for the body, it's mean stuff. Bang! Bang! add some more! Bang! Bang! good powder, this!"

While so doing they prepare the *kintwenga* of a corpse, in which is put head hair, eyelashes, pubic hair and nails. Then they take a stalk in which to smoke tobacco, partly hollowed out, and begin the song: "Eh, the old one, smell of pipe, the old one, smell of rot..." The knife has the force of nkondi, which can suddenly strike people; it may do so when there is a dispute in the clan and is most likely to strike the younger ones. Then there is the song: "If he drinks water, may he be breathless; if he drinks palmwine, may he be breathless..."

If the priest dies, the nkisi is polluted, also if the medicine packet stuck on the belly of Nkondi falls off, it is defiled, the spirit that was in it has fled. To reconsecrate it, they assemble the assistants to make it as it was before. Nkondi may not be consecrated by a woman, only by a man, [father of a child].

Ntangu yampandulu bonso ntekele ta mu mankaka, bonso kasadilanga mu mpandulu i bobo nganga mpe kasadilanga vo nloko keti koma. Diswasani diena mu ngudi nganga ye zinganga. Ngudi nganga zeyi mpanga zazonsono mu nkisi wowo, kansi nganga kazeyi mamonsono ko. Nganga vo zolele kala ngudi, buna fweti toma dikila ngudi nganga, kidi katoma kuntudisa mu kinganga ye fwana bonso ngudi nganga.

Invocations are as I have already described, the same as for a consecration. There is a difference between the priest and the assistants, since the latter do not know all there is to know. To become a principal you have to pay well for the instruction.

Nkondi (Mukimbungu)

Nkondi #19.537, from Mukimbungu, described by Makundu, consists of two figures, male and female, tied together back-to-back with cane. The male figure has lost the medicine pack that he had on his head at the time the Museum's drawing was made. The neck-ring around his neck is of iron; hers is of copper. Both show traces of white around the eyes and the outline of the face, but no sign of nail-punctures.



1919.1.537. Pair of anthropomorphic figurines, male and female, tied back to back, each with metal ring around the neck, medicine packs on the head and chest; 27 x 13.5 cm. Mukimbungu.

Nkondi i nkisi wena mu teki byole byafilana nima, umosi ya nkento, umosi ya mbakala ulutanga kikesa yo ngolo zandi. Kansi nkento uvwemba zo nadede beni kwandi. Nga vo mu yandi bakala ye bakala, nga nzo zingi zivianga kwa mbandunu mpe nadede. Bu wunatwanga nkutu, vo zulu lombele, buna balembolo mu kwenda konso ku bakutu kwenda. Vo bakilondokele, buna ntumbu wafuka nlele wa ndombe ye vanga mwemo u kana kwenda lembi mu nzila yi bana kwendila, mpasi mbandanu za ngolo kazidi kala ye vonda bantu momo nzila ko. Lemba ye lemba kaka nate ye balweki ku balenda zenga nsusu a ntu. Nga vo ka bana kwe lembingi ko, buna ka balendi lwaka ku bana kwenda zenga nsusu ko, mu dya mbandanu zina sa Nkondi zina kubavonda momo nzila bena. Nga vo bana kwe se kwenda lemba, buna Nkondi kalendi fwema ko, e kuma kadi kazolele nokwa ko.

Mboki bu weti vandwa mpe, vo zulu lombele, buna lumbu ka balendi wo tebila longo ko, mu dyambu dya zulu una vezima ye duma mpe. Buna salu kya nwa malavu kaka ye yimbila nkunga eu kaka:

E bilala, bilala,

Nkondi kotele mu vata.

E bilala, bilala,

kwenda dungama,

E-e-e bilala,

E Nkondi kotele mu belo,

bilala bilala.

kwenda dungama.

Vo vana nsuuka vo zulu kyesele, buna ntumbu badika mpe mu sa nzaki mu kubika longo bi bana teba. Kya ntete luvemba, kya nzole maala ma zulu, kya ntatu nkanda mpakasa, kya nia nkanda a ngo, kya ntaanu nkandikila, kya sambanu luyala, kya nsambwadya ndingi ye mamoni-moni ye tumbangu-mbangu ye nsunda ye mundanda nzila ye nungu za nsamba ye ntu a mboma ye wa mpidi ye wa kimbandya ye nsaku-nsaku ye kyubula kya nkasa ye ntu a nsesi ye maalu ma nkala ye nungwa.

Nkondi is a nkisi in two sculptures back to back, one female and one male. The powers of the male are more vigorous, but the female softens them. If they were two males, many houses would be burned by the storm. If the nkisi is being carried in a bag and the sky darkens, they do not continue to wherever they were going. If they are already en route, they cover the nkisi with a dark cloth and prepare a medicine to pacify the road where they are going, so that no great storm shall kill any of them. They continue with the medicine until they come to a place where they can sacrifice a chicken. If they do not do this they will not get there, because the storm stirred up by Nkondi will kill them on the way. But with the pacifying medicine Nkondi will not be angry and will not cause rain.

Likewise, when they are composing the nkisi, if the sky should darken they may not prepare the ingredients, for fear of thunder and lightning. So that day the only work will be to drink palmwine and sing:

Alas!

Nkondi has entered the village,
we are thunderstruck.

If the sky clears in the morning, they hasten to prepare the ingredients of the nkisi: 1) kaolin;
2) hailstones; 3) buffalo-skin
4) leopard-skin
5) "protection" fruit;
6) "may I rule" fruit;
7) *ndingi* resin; quartz, for "seeing";
leaves for "interpreting";
leaves for "leadership";
the "road-follower" creeper;
a kind of pepper;
the heads of python and viper; leaves for "blessing";
nkasa bark;
head of *nsemi* antelope;
crab claw; pepper.

Bu bimeni lunga longo byobyoyo i mwe vwandi mu teba byo. Mu nkunga wowo mpe bitebulwanga. Bu bimeni mu teba, ntumbu baka mbongo za baadi mu tuula longo byobyoyo bitebelo ye bunda byo ye mpemba yimeni nikwa wa tadi, kidi taku dya Nkondi dyakala dyadinene beni.

Taku (dya futu) bu dimeni kubika va bila, ntumbu vanda fintete-ntete fizina tuulwa Nkondi. Bu zimeni tuula mu ntete ntumbu mana kanga mu mpangula. Bu zimeni kanga momo ntete, buna ntumbu zo sakumuna mu nungu za nsamba ye nsaku-nsaku ye luyala ye luvemba ye ndingi ye mboki vubila zo mu tiya twa mputu evo twa mfula.

Bu kameni zo vubila, ntumbu mpe teba longo dyaka bina kala mu ntandu za ntu muna myau muna siwa mpe mfumbu zau zina kaka ntumpa zau, ka zidi kala mwasi.

Bu bameni sa bobo nampiaa, ntumbu lombamba malavu ma ndwa mpe. Bu katambudi mo ntumbu mo nwa, ntumbu mpe lombamba kwezi dyandi. Kwezi i dyadi: mbandu kumi ye miya. Bau ntumbu vaana mbandu nani. Yandi vo: Ve, kilendi tambula nani ko, landa kumi ye tatu. Bau vo: Ka dyambu ko, tuna kufuta kumi ye mosi. Yandi vo: Ve, landa kuumi ye zole. Bau vo: Ka dyambu ko, tuna myo futa kwandi, nate nlongo myeto. Yandi vo: Ntete futa, mboki ita myo nlongo. Buna bau ntumbu kwenda ku nenga mu yonzika mbandu kumi ye myole mu kwiza futa kwa ngudi a nganga, kidi bawa nlongo myau. Bu kamweni mbongo zandi, ntumbu kala kyese ye bika ebu: Yobo, yobo. Bu kameni ta bobo, ntumbu badika ta nlongo myau mpe.

Nlongo kana ta kwa bau i myami kwandi: Nganga Nkondi kana dia mboozu myakokwa ko ye kana diila nkati a nti wa mboozu ko. Kana mpe dya sambwadya kyayokwa ko ye kana dia mpe mbala zayokwa ko, langa lamba kaka yuuma, yi fukumuni ku diani yo ko. Wanokwa mvula, walwaka va nzo kusani ntumbu kota ko. teka telama va nzinga baka fyuma mboki kota mu nzo.

Wazenga nsusu, buna nkisi tensika wo va ntandu a mpeete, bu meni wo sakumuna ye nsusu va kimosi. Bana yo zengisa bu beti kanga nsibu, buna ngeye weti songa mbeele mu nkisi aku. Bu bameni kanga nsibu, buna ngeye nakudika mu siba nkisi aku mboki zenga yo. Mboki yimbila nkunga aku wowo mpe nate ye nsusu yifwidi mpe, mboki una lembwa yimbila nkunga.

Mboki si katambula kwezi dyandi i dyadi: Mbandu kumi ye myole ye nsusu mosi ye malavu ma ndwa. Bu kameni mo tambula ye nwa, ntumbu kwenda kwandi ku vata dyandi.

When all these are ready they are scraped to compose the nkisi, to the accompaniment of the same song. Then they take a raffia in which to put the medicines, together with chalk that has been ground on a stone, so that the packet of Nkondi may be very large.

When the whole packet has been made up, they weave a little basket to put the Nkondi in. When it has been put in, the basket is closed with a cord. Once closed, it is sacralized with pepper and other medicines, and gunpowder is burned for it.

Then they prepare more medicines to go into the medicine packs on the heads of the sculptures, so that their fontanelles should be open.

When they have done all this properly, they ask for palmwine to drink. Having drunk, they ask for their fee. The fee is 140 francs. At first they are offered so many, but they say they will not accept that, but they will agree to 130. The counter offer, 110, is refused, but the parties agree on 120. The clients say they are ready to pay, but want to know the rules of the nkisi first. The banganga say no, pay first, then we will announce the rules. The clients withdraw to collect the 120 to pay to the principal nganga, so that they may hear the rules. He, when he sees his money, is happy, and shouts "Yobo! Yobo!" Then he begins to tell them their rules.

These are the rules he tells them. The nganga of Nkondi may not eat roast *nsafu* fruit or palm fruit or yams. Everything must be boiled, but if it boils over he may not eat it. If it rains, he may not enter a house immediately upon arriving but must wait a while under the eaves of the porch, then enter.

When a chicken is sacrificed, the nkisi is held over a *lufete* branch so that it and the chicken may be sacralized at the same time. They sacrifice when they are making an oath; the nganga must show the knife to the nkisi. He repeats the oath after them, then cuts the chicken's throat and sings the song until the chicken is dead.

Then he accepts his honorarium: 140 francs, a chicken, and palmwine to drink. Having received them he goes his way to his village.

Nkondi Nsanda

In this text, Lwamba Josef of the CMA Mission in Lolo first describes a common function of Nkondi, that of receiving strangers (refugees, clients, slaves) into the clan; secondly, he describes a particular nkisi, Nkondi ya Nsanda, for whose contents we have a detailed drawing (LKIII:fig. 13, 14).

Nsanda (from *sanda*, to form a scab) is defiled if a woman touches it, and must be reconsecrated by a senior nganga for this nkisi. This rule, and the "maleness" of the symbolism (nkisi associated with firewood, nganga not to be associated with burned foods, violence) probably explains why the only song reported in Lwamba's somewhat perfunctory text is an obscene riddle. (*Yombe* = forest = grass = body hair.) Although the invocation (*nkomono*) is not literally a nailing in this case, "nailing" has itself a sexual sense, as in the phrase *koma nsonso*, "to hammer in nails," which is a metaphor for sexual intercourse.



19.1.1350. Anthropomorphic, male figurine, with tattoo marks, ornate headdress, blades driven into the belly; 33.5 cm. high. Also medicine bundle. Nkisi Nkondi ya Nsanda, Lolo.

Lwamba, cahier 239; Lolo

Ntambudulu abanzenza mu mvila yina bonso ebu. Vo bazolele kala kintuadi ye mpangi anzenza mu kimpangi kia mvila, buna beti landa zinkondi iminkisi miaminene mibafuete vumina ye fifa [fiba] zimbau ye bandazo mu zinkondi zozo zazole zibalendi ndambu ye ndambu ye bosi bavondanga zinsusu mu tula menga mu zimbau zozo mu siamisa zo, kidi wonso una zola dia niandi kinkumbi [bunkita] una vondua ye kanda diandi diadio kwa nkisi a kiese -- imiomio milaukisanga ye miyokanga ku tuya. Bobo basanga mu vwanga mvila au va kimosi ye bosi bafutanga mbongo kwa zimbangi zina keba luwawanu ye minkisi miomio, ye bakubavanga mpe ndambu a ntoto mu tunga.

Strangers are welcomed into the clan as follows. If they wish to enter into brotherhood with a stranger to the clan, they fetch minkondi, which are large and awesome minkisi. They lick spikes and drive them into the minkondi, one for each side. Then they sacrifice two chickens and pour the blood on the spikes to strengthen them, so that whosoever should attack his fellow by witchcraft should be killed with his whole clan by the furious nkisi, which drives them mad and burns them with fire. That's what they do to mingle their clans together; then they pay the witnesses who testify to the agreement with the nkisi, and give the new clansmen a plot on which to settle.

[illegible]

Nkumbu a nkisi Nkondi Nsanda, mbangudulu mu nkumbu yoyo yi mu tuula muntu bimpela ye mpela mu nitu. Kanda dyandi Kimbenza ye beela kwatituka mu nitu ye fwa ngambu. Sinsi di watuuka mu bumba dyadinene beni ye nkento ye bakala ye baana bau i biteki. Wavandwa mu dyambu dya beela kwakala va mwelo a nzo eto, bimpela beni. Nitu yayo ye mu fwa ngambu ye tituka. Watuuka Mbiongo. Lunitu Iwena mu kiteki, byena byole ye baana bau: byena ngudi baana 20, babanene 2 ye tondi ye nzazu ye ndimba ye diimu ye diinu dya ngulu ye tadi ye looko ye mwemvo ye mama. Fulu kyandi mu nzo va mbata lukatu evo va zulu nkuni tedimisa.

Bu kavandulwa mbazi, bonga nkwa ye ngombo za nkisi, mbo kwenda mu tota longo ye teba byo fu byau. Wenda muna babutana, muna balelana, nga mpasi mu zaya mambu, kidi wavanda wo wafwa.

Nkunga: E nkwezi, nkangila nguba zole, nsa mu nkutu. Mbazi mwendo ku Mayombe. Ntu ku nseke, maalu ku nsi a madyadya. Buna una sika mwemvo.

Minlongo: Kulendi yoka zinkala ko ye nguba ko ye ngazi ko ye masangu ma titi ko. Bu kavandwa bantu babingi bakala, kadi wakala nkisi utwasonga nsongo wa zimpela mu nitu ya mvimba nkwati-nkwaki ye mu tituka.

[...]Nki a bilongo bina sadulwa? Ka mwena nsadulu a bilongo ko, kansi mfusa yena va mbumba dya nkisi, i bobo mu mbukulu mpe.

Nkomono i bonga mfusa yena va nkisi ye koma mu mafula. Vo Nkondi Nsanda wonso yibidi leko kyokyo tuula mpela mu nitu ko wena lumbu mu yimbila ko. Mu lumbu kya nsona una yoboso ye ngeye nganga una sa luvemba mu zizi.

Nlongo mya nkisi bonso nsonekene ku ntandu: zinguba, ngazi, masangu. Zingazi kulendi yoka ko. Nkisi ulenda sumuka vo nkento una simba wo, buna usumukini. Kansi babakala simba kwau. Ngudi a nganga una kwiza mu kutabila longo ye una vutuka ngolo...

The explanation of this name is that it afflicts a person with scabby sores and fainting. It belongs to the *kimbenza* class. It comes in a very large bundle with figurines of a man and woman and their 20 children. It also contains mushroom, cocoon of praying mantis, red clay, pig's tooth, a stone, a palm fungus (?), a hunting whistle and a piece of a termite hill. It is put in the house above the storage chest or on the firewood.

When it is invoked outside, put out the mat and equipment of the nkisi, then go find the medicines and prepare them as they require...

Song: "I took two peanuts, put them in a bag, the next day went to Mayombe. Head far away, feet under the long grass." Then they blow the hunting whistle.

The taboos are that you may not roast nsafu, peanuts, palmnuts or green corn. When it was invoked many people were present, for it was a nkisi which showed us the sign of severe skin sores all over the body, and sudden death.

What medicines are used? There are no medicines with it, but there is chalk in the bundle that is used for healing.

It is invoked by taking the chalk that is in the nkisi to the crossroads and saying: "Nkondi Nsanda, whoever stole [the thing,] cover his body with sores." There is no special day for singing [to the nkisi] but on Nsona day it is bathed and the nganga marks his face with white clay.

The rules of the nkisi are as I wrote above: peanuts, palmnuts, corn. You may not roast palmnuts. The nkisi is polluted if a woman touches it, but men are allowed to. When the originating nganga comes to prepare medicines for you, it becomes strong again...

INDEXES TO MINKISI IN THE LAMAN COLLECTION

1. MINKISI BY STATION OF ORIGIN

Gives the same information as in the Master List (vide infra), but in different order.

2. MINKISI BY ACQUISITION NUMBER

Gives the same information as in the Master List (vide infra), but in different order.

3. MASTER LIST

a. Name

The names are listed alphabetically, both in this index and in LKM, but the spellings vary from one informant to another and between Laman's own texts; for example, Kengele and Nkengele, Mabiala and Mabyala. Some

minkisi have alternative names and some names have prefixes such as Mwe or Na. In general I have chosen the name and spelling used in the most original source, to which the particular spelling itself may be a guide.

b. Location

The location listed is preferably that from which the named object came, as given in the acquisition catalogue, corrected for errors of spelling. For example, "Kinkongi," a non-existent place, appears regularly in the catalogue; it is a transcription error for Kinkonzi. Alternatively, the location is that from which the Kongo author is writing. In almost all instances, these locations are mission stations or outposts. Ideally, texts and ob-

jects from the same locations can be correlated. It sometimes happens that the author is reporting not on the area where he is stationed but on his home region or some other to which he has traveled. In other cases, Laman locates the nkisi differently; for example, he assigns many objects and reports to "Mayombe," meaning the area west of Kingoyi and Kengele, including the CMA stations of Vungu, Lolo and Maduda.

c. Number

The minkisi are numbered according to the following priorities. If there is an object in the collection and its acquisition number is known, that number is listed in slightly abbreviated form, eg., "19.1105" for "1919.1.1105." In a few instances the only known number is that of "the Laman catalogue," which is the one mentioned with each of the illustrations in LKI-IV, thus:

"L.1395;" this catalogue cannot now be found. If no such number is available, the number listed is that of the KiKongo notebook ("cahier") in which the nkisi is described. Failing that, the number is that of the page in LKM in which such a notebook is quoted. If the only source of information is the one mentioned under REFERENCES, the number is left blank.

d. References

This column lists residual sources of information not found under NUMBER. Often there is a reference to the page of one of the Laman volumes in English (LKI-IV) on which an extract from one of the notebooks has been identified; people working with these materials will be able to add to these identifications. Often there is also a

reference to the page in LKM on which one or more extracts from the notebooks appear, describing the nkisi in question. Other references point to other notebooks in which supplementary information can be found. "Photo," followed by a number, indicates that the object appears in photographs of the Laman collection taken in 1926.

NOTE: In the original notebooks Laman has occasionally written such notations as "#907," indicating the number of the page in LKM on which the corresponding passage has been typed.

MINKISI BY STATION OF ORIGIN

LOCATION	NAME	NUMBER	REFERENCES
	Kidyata	LKM0732	LKIII:166 – KEL
	Kileeke		LKII:72
	Kivumba	19.0476	see Mayanda
	Manswana	LKM0956	KEL: "No 148"
	Mavuta	LKM0857	KEL: "no. 175; like Kidyata"
	Mbumba	19.0571	LKII:fig.1a
	Mbwanga Kisimbi	LKM0907	KEL "No.177"; cf.19.1102, 1244
	Mfwemo		LKII:73
	Mpodi	LKM0936	KEL: "No.132"
	Mvwete		LKII:73
	Nkukula		LKII:74. See Nkulula
	Nkumba		LKII:73
	Nsakulu	LKM1032	KEL "No.130"; LKIII:125
	Nsansi		see Musansi
	Nsumba	LKM1041	KEL "No. 159"
	Sompolo	LKM1064	KEL: "No.174"
Bulu	Na Kongo	cah058	LKM:753; LKIII:143–6 (mixed)
Bulu	Na Kongo	cah296	LKIII:178
general	Kula		LKIII:91ff., cah389, 142
general	Mpodi		LKII:59; LKIII:96–100; LKM926
Kasi	Bakulu	cah407	LKM:701
Kasi	Lemba	cah407	
Kasi	Na Kongo	cah407	
Kasi	Simbi	cah407	LKM:1060
Kibunzi	Bo(m)vi	cah083	LKM:702; also called Mbola
Kibunzi	Kileke	cah068	LKD
Kibunzi	Masisya	cah047	LKM:854
Kibunzi	Mbola	cah083	
Kibunzi	Musansi	cah073	LKIII:187
Kibunzi	Mvutudi	cah047	LKM:977; LKIII:140
Kibunzi	NaKanga Vangu	cah073	
Kibunzi	Nsonde	cah073	
Kimpunga	Luvemba (Bunzi)	cah211	LKM:824
Kimpunga	Mbenza	LKM0873	very brief; no other in LKM
Kimpunga	Songo	cah212	LKM1064; called Nsonde Ngovo
Kingoyi	Bisimbi	cah390	
Kingoyi	Bunzi (Mwana)	19.1349	LKIII:105&fig16.18
Kingoyi	Bunzi mu Mpidi	cah390	LKIII:108;LKM:0721
Kingoyi	Bunzi Ngulu	cah098	LKIII:107; LKM:719
Kingoyi	Bunzi Nsemuka	cah142	LKIII:105 cah139:13
Kingoyi	Disu Nkama	19.1084	
Kingoyi	Kinkanda	54.2361	

LOCATION	NAME	NUMBER	REFERENCES
Kingoyi	Kinkita (Kipeka)	19.1347	LKIII:157; LKM:749
Kingoyi	Kinkuma [Songo]	19.1108	LKIII:184; LKD
Kingoyi	Kinswiti	cah096	LKIII:160; LKM:748
Kingoyi	Kipeka (Kinkita)	19.1347	LKIII:157; cah387,388; LKM:743
Kingoyi	Kiyala	cah390	LKIII:122; LKM:750
Kingoyi	Kubungu	19.1314	LKM:769; LKIII:166; cah28
Kingoyi	Kula	19.0531	cah142, LKIII:92 & fig15
Kingoyi	Kula Mfiedila	19.0540	LKIII:94 & fig36; cah389
Kingoyi	Kula Mpungila	cah142	
Kingoyi	Kwanza	19.0527	LKIII:fig5b; LKM 783: "No 172"
Kingoyi	Lemba	cah142	LKIII:113; Janzen 1982; LKM784
Kingoyi	Lemba	cah345	not in LKM
Kingoyi	Londa Mabuta	cah389	LKIII:133; LKM804
Kingoyi	Luhemba	cah387	
Kingoyi	Lumoni	cah139	also called Bunzi Nsemuka
Kingoyi	Luvemba	cah387	LKM:823
Kingoyi	Luvu	cah139	also called Bunzi
Kingoyi	Mabela	19.1083	
Kingoyi	Mampunga	cah144	LKM:842
Kingoyi	Mayungi	19.1222	
Kingoyi	Mboko	cah141	LKM:873
Kingoyi	Mbola	cah390	cah083; LKIII:103; LKM:874
Kingoyi	Mbuku (Bunzi)	cah096	LKIII:110; LKM:883
Kingoyi	Mbumba ye kunda	19.0589	LKIII:101; cah097; LKM886, 889
Kingoyi	Mbundu	19.0553	LKM:895; LKIII:85; cah29, 75
Kingoyi	Mbwanga	cah095	LKIII:158; LKM:905; cf.19.1102
Kingoyi	Mpanda	cah095	LKM:913, 914 (KEL)
Kingoyi	Mpanzu Mbombo	cah027	LKIII:149; LKM:916
Kingoyi	mpiya	19.0579	
Kingoyi	Mpodi	19.0533	
Kingoyi	Mpodi	19.1212	
Kingoyi	Mpodi	19.1213	
Kingoyi	podi	19.1289	LKII:fig12c
Kingoyi	Mpodi	19.1345	LKII:fig19b; LKIII:96; LKM931
Kingoyi	Mpodi	19.1351	LKII:fig19c; LKIII:96; LKM:96
Kingoyi	Mpodi Mputu	cah142	LKIII:99; LKM:922; cf 19.1345
Kingoyi	Muhingu	cah143	LKII:59; LKIII:136; cah139
Kingoyi	Muhongo	cah142	LKIII:126; LKM 942
Kingoyi	Mukubulu	cah028	LKM:946
Kingoyi	Mukwanga	cah074	
Kingoyi	Mukwanga Yulu	cah388	cah074; LKM:947
Kingoyi	Mungani	cah143	cah139:11; 142:10; LKM:950
Kingoyi	Musansi abiteki	cah347	LKIII:152 & LKM:957 are by KEL
Kingoyi	Mutadi	19.1183	LKIII:81; LKM961(KEL);cah96.142

LOCATION	NAME	NUMBER	REFERENCES
Kingoyi	Mutinu Mamba	19.1352	LKIII:162; cah27; LKM:969, 971
Kingoyi	Mwana Nkondi	19.0538	LKM:1023. "No.142." See Nkondi
Kingoyi	Mwandazi	cah140	LKIII:128; LKM:983
Kingoyi	Mwe Kongo	cah387	LKIII:143
Kingoyi	Mwe Nsundi	cah388	LKIII:148; LKM1044; cah95(1042)
Kingoyi	Mwe Solo	cah097	LKM1060; also called Mpanzu
Kingoyi	Na Kongo	cah387	LKM:760; LKIII:143-7 (mixed)
Kingoyi	Nkiduku	19.1275	LKIII:128; cah27; LKM:999
Kingoyi	Nkiduku	19.1305	
Kingoyi	Nkiduku	cah098	LKIII:128
Kingoyi	Nkisi ababonso	19.1096	
Kingoyi	Nkoko Bondo	19.0514	LKIV:fig7; cah389
Kingoyi	Nkomina	cah142	LKIII:167; LKM:1003
Kingoyi	Nkondi Mafula	cah139	
Kingoyi	Nkondi Mfyedila	cah143	LKIII:89; LKM:1018
Kingoyi	Nkondi Ntilumuk	cah141	LKIII:87; LKM:1019
Kingoyi	Nkondi ya nkoma	19.1397	LKII:fig21b; cah27,74; LKM1007
Kingoyi	Nkondi, mwana	19.0538	LKM1023(KEL)"No.142"Photo 151:3
Kingoyi	Nkubulu	19.1162	cah218; LKII:67-70
Kingoyi	Nkusu	cah028	LKIII:118; LKM:1025
Kingoyi	Nkutu nsi	cah139	LKM:1028
Kingoyi	Nsakula	19.1152	
Kingoyi	Nsakulu	19.1237	LKIII:124 is similar
Kingoyi	Nsansi	19.1269	cah28,95; LKIV:fig1; LKIII:187
Kingoyi	Nzemba	cah144	LKM:1051
Kingoyi	Nzenze	cah143	LKM:1053
Kingoyi	Nziodi Kodia	19.1137	cah28; LKD s.v. zannga
Kingoyi	Suku	LKM1070	
Kingoyi	Yoba	cah074	
Kingoyi	Zyeta	cah097	LKIII:154;LKM1071;cfNkutuZyeta
Kinkenge	Buntela	19.1068	
Kinkenge	Buntela	19.1103	
Kinkenge	Bunzi Nkenge v.	cah014	LKIII:108;LKM:718
Kinkenge	Fundu Kimbwa	19.1097	
Kinkenge	Kimbula	LKM0734	LKIII:167
Kinkenge	Kiniumba	cah015	
Kinkenge	Kodya dya Nzau	cah118	LKIII:138; LKM:724 Also Diila
Kinkenge	Lemba	cah015	LKIII:116; LKM:792
Kinkenge	Lemba	cah119	LKIII:117; LKM795
Kinkenge	Lemba Mansundi	cah016	LKIII:116
Kinkenge	Londa dianlangu	19.1059	
Kinkenge	Londa Nkosula	LKM0802	LKIII:134
Kinkenge	Lubangala	19.1079	cah224; LKM:806

LOCATION	NAME	NUMBER	REFERENCES
Kinkenge	Lumoni	cah015	
Kinkenge	Mabimba	cah116	LKM:828
Kinkenge	Makongo Banga	cah119	LKIII:147; LKM:767
Kinkenge	Malwangu	cah116	LKIII:152; LKM:841
Kinkenge	Malwangu Bunzi	cah014	LKIII:108; cah8; LKM:718
Kinkenge	Maniangu	cah015	
Kinkenge	Matala-tala	cah015	
Kinkenge	Mayimbi	cah118	LKIII:155-6; LKM:857; cah119
Kinkenge	Mbola	cah116	cah119; LKM:879
Kinkenge	Mbongo	cah016	LKM:880
Kinkenge	Mbumba Bingu	19.0510	LKIII:42; cah233, 236; amulet
Kinkenge	Mbumba Cindongo	cah016	LKIII:102; LKM:891
Kinkenge	Mbwanga	19.1102	?LKM906, KEL "No.150" ?cah95
Kinkenge	Me Mpanga	cah015	LKM:907
Kinkenge	Me Nsungu	cah015	LKM:908
Kinkenge	Mikwanga	cah015	
Kinkenge	Mpemba Dimpombo	cah016	LKM:921
Kinkenge	Mukisi Nsi	cah015	LKIII:168; LKM:945
Kinkenge	Mungundu	cah119	
Kinkenge	Mwalele	cah015	LKM:982
Kinkenge	Mwanza (Ntadi)	cah007	
Kinkenge	Na Maza	19.0474	Soderberg 1956:100-04
Kinkenge	Ngwima	19.0722	LKIII:169.fig39; cah15; LKM996
Kinkenge	Nkondi Mantuku	cah119	LKIII:86,189
Kinkenge	Nkondi Mungundu	cah119	also cah224 (Lolo)
Kinkenge	Nkutu a Zyeta	cah117	LKIII:155; LKM:1028
Kinkenge	Nsakulu	cah116	LKIII:124; LKM:1030
Kinkenge	Nsambu	LKM1035	
Kinkenge	Nsimbu	cah014	LKM:1038
Kinkenge	Nsungu	cah015	different function from 19.506
Kinkenge	Ntinu Malenga	cah120	LKM:1049; cf. Mutinu
Kinkenge	Simbi	cah117	LKIII:131
Kinkenge	Tolo	cah118	
Kinkonko	Lambamanga	19.1106	LKIV:fig.30
Kinkonzi	Bakulu	19.1105	cah015 (Kinkenge)
Kinkonzi	Kikoka	19.1159	
Kinkonzi	Kubungu	19.1164	
Kinkonzi	Kubungu	19.1178	
Kinkonzi	Matenzi	19.1156	cah 224; LKM:857
Kinkonzi	Mayanda	19.1148	LKM:857; see also Kivumba
Kinkonzi	Mbundu	19.1177	cah 221; LKII:fig9b
Kinkonzi	Nkaza	19.1163	
Kinkonzi	Nsungu	19.0506	LKII:fig18b
Kinkonzi	Ntadi	19.1167	

LOCATION	NAME	NUMBER	REFERENCES
Kiobo	Makongo Mbu	19.1218	
Kiobo	Makuni Mankoko	cah344	
Kiobo	Mbenza Mangund	54.2570	LKIII: plate 2, fig.22; cah344
Kiobo	Mbu Mamba	19.1308	
Kiobo	Mwimba Ngabu	19.1112	
Kiobo	Ndobi	19.1110	LKIII:fig19b
Kiobo	Nduda	19.0519	
Kiobo	Nduda	L.0505	LKII:fig.20a
Kiobo	Ngovo	19.0764	cah240
Kiobo	Nzemba Mbenza	cah344	
Kiobo	Nzieta siodi	19.1141	
Kolo	mpiya	19.0570	
Kolo	mpiya	19.0578	cah65
Kolo	mpiya	19.0642	cah65
Lolo	Bau	19.1264	Lutete, LKM:1110; LKII:129
Lolo	Biyimbu	19.1136	
Lolo	Funza dya Monzi	cah240	LKIII:112; LKM:727
Lolo	Kiananga	19.1087	
Lolo	Kidya Nkanka	19.1067	amulet
Lolo	Kimbandi	19.1241	
Lolo	Koka Nkombe	19.1239	
Lolo	Lau	19.0485	cah231; LKM 783; see 19.1051
Lolo	Lau	19.1085	cah 231
Lolo	Lemba	cah229	not in LKM
Lolo	Lufwa lua Mwaka	cah240	LKM:806
Lolo	Lunga Bwala	19.1191	
Lolo	Mabiala	19.1099	LKIII:158; LKM:830; cah224
Lolo	Mabiala Mandemb	19.1093	
Lolo	Mabiala Mandemb	19.1099	
Lolo	Mabiala Mandemb	19.1185	
Lolo	Mabiala Mandemb	19.1335	cah224; LKIII:158
Lolo	Makuni bakento	19.1176	LKIV:41 & fig.6; cah344
Lolo	Mankuni	cah224	LKM:844
Lolo	Masimu	19.1066	
Lolo	Mayodi	LKM0867	
Lolo	Mayumba	19.1044	
Lolo	Mbenza	19.1101	
Lolo	Mbenza	19.1254	
Lolo	Mbenza	19.1358	LKIII:fig.23; LKII:fig.36
Lolo	Mbenza	cah225	LKIII:129
Lolo	Mbongo	LKM0880	
Lolo	Mbumba (Nkiduku)	19.0576	cah240; LKIII:102; LKM:893
Lolo	Mbumba Lwangu	19.1192	
Lolo	Mbumba mpiakele	19.1070	

LOCATION	NAME	NUMBER	REFERENCES
Lolo	Mbwanga	19.1244	
Lolo	Mpandi ya kadi	cah240	LKM:914
Lolo	Mpanzu Bakala	19.1182	cah240; LKM:917
Lolo	Mpanzu Nkento	19.1173	LKII: fig9a; cf.19.1182
Lolo	Mpokoni	LKM0937	
Lolo	Mukwanga Funza	19.1221	
Lolo	Mwivi	cah240	LKIII:122; LKM:986
Lolo	Na Kongo	19.1119	LKIII:143ff
Lolo	Na Maza	19.1065	
Lolo	Na Maza	19.1150	
Lolo	Na Maza	19.1154	
Lolo	Ngundu	19.0473	LKII:fig17
Lolo	Ngundunga	19.1179	cah382
Lolo	Nkanga Mbadi	19.1172	
Lolo	Nkele-nkele	19.1160	Soderberg 1956:100-104
Lolo	Nkengele	19.1171	cah231; LKIV:69 and fig.10
Lolo	Nkisi ababonso	19.1130	
Lolo	Nkita Niumbu	19.1170	LKII: fig35b&39; read 'Nsumbu'
Lolo	Nkita Nsi	cah240	LKIII:132; LKM:1002
Lolo	Nkita Nsumbu	19.1357	LKII:fig35a&38;cah224:LKM1001
Lolo	Nkita Nyombe	cah224	
Lolo	Nkoko Bondo	19.1076	LKII:fig24; cah231
Lolo	Nkondi a Mamba	19.1316	LKIV:fig21; LKM1022; cah224
Lolo	Nkondi Nsanda	19.1359	LKIII:fig13,14; cah240:LKM1020
Lolo	Nsasa Mpongo	19.0489	Soderberg 1956:100-04
Lolo	Nsasi	19.1184	LKIV:127 & fig.22
Lolo	Nsasi	19.1233	
Lolo	Nsimu	19.1155	
Lolo	Nsonde Ngovo	19.1145	cah240:9; see Ngovo
Lolo	Nsonde yadila	19.1052	
Lolo	Nsungu	19.1053	cah231
Lolo	Ntinu Kongo	19.1169	
Lolo	Nzau mfioni	19.1161	LKIII:184
Lolo	Nziodi	19.1210	
Lolo	Songo	cah212	LKM1065; & called Nsonde Ngovo
Ludima	Musansi Bitutu	19.1081	LKIII151&fig43;LKM953;cah28,95
Ludima	Ndundu	19.1166	LKIII:132; cah15; LKM:990
Ludima	Nkisi nsi	19.1175	LKII: 150; cf. Mukisi Nsi
Madzia	Bambimi	cah080	cah322 by Mawuku; 80, Kimbembe
Madzia	Lemba	cah079	not in LKM
Madzia	Mubwongo	cah080	
Madzia	Mubwongo	cah080	
Madzia	Nkondi	cah080	
Manianga	Mpu	cah152	LKIII:123; LKM:938

LOCATION	NAME	NUMBER	REFERENCES
Manianga	Nkosi	cah153	LKIII:91; LKM:1023
Mayombe	Bau	19.1264	cah 221; LKM 1110
Mayombe	Bunzi	19.0555	LKII:fig1c
Mayombe	Kimbwiti	19.1094	"No.770"
Mayombe	Kula Bandoki	19.0590	LKIII:fig19a; cah15
Mayombe	Lau	19.1051	cah15; part of 19.485
Mayombe	Makongo Mbongo	19.1132	
Mayombe	Mambuka a Kongo	19.0723	
Mayombe	Mavungu	L.0726	LKIII:plate 1
Mayombe	Mbenza	54.2569	prob. LKIII:fig.11, L.560
Mayombe	Mbenza Mangund	54.2641	cah344
Mayombe	Mbongo Nsimba	19.0511	cah 14, 223; LKIV:fig9
Mayombe	Mfingi	54.2339	
Mayombe	Nduda	19.1263	LKII:fig.20b;cah17
Mayombe	Nkondi	19.1394	LKII:fig21a;LKM1010(KEL);cah27
Mayombe	Nkondi	19.1395	LKII fig.22
Mayombe	Nkondi	L.1395	LKII:fig22
Mayombe	Nkondi Malwadi	19.1398	
Mayombe	Nkondi tulu	19.0484	
Mayombe	Nkula Ngombo	19.1149	
Mayombe	Nkulula	19.0536	This is probably Nkukula
Mayombe	Nsasi	19.1073	
Mayombe	Nsimba Kiolo	19.0500	
Mayombe	Tsimba Kiolo	19.500	
Mukimbungu	Nkondi a Mamba	cah259	
Mukimbungu	Nsansi	cah259	
Mukimbungu	Bamfumu	cah254	see Makwende; LKIII:165
Mukimbungu	Bodisa	cah254	LKM:701
Mukimbungu	Dia Bilezi	cah253	LKIII:168; LKM:722; cah407
Mukimbungu	Diba	19.1041	
Mukimbungu	Dyatu	cah259	LKIII:141
Mukimbungu	Funza	cah259	LKIII:112;
Mukimbungu	Kibungi	cah257	LKM:729
Mukimbungu	Kimfwita	cah254	LKIII:141, misspelled; LKM:734
Mukimbungu	Kimpanzu,Mpanzu	19.1309	cah253,260; LKIII:151; LKM:736
Mukimbungu	Kindungu-ndungu	cah257	
Mukimbungu	Kindyondyo	cah255	LKIII:159; LKM:737
Mukimbungu	Kinkanda	cah257	LKM:741
Mukimbungu	Kinkuma	19.1194	LKIII:120,184; cah259; LKM:747
Mukimbungu	Kiyala	19.0480	LKM:751??
Mukimbungu	Kubungu	19.0580	
Mukimbungu	Lemba	19.0583	LKII:fig32; LKM 797, 799
Mukimbungu	Lembikila	19.1250	
Mukimbungu	Londa	19.0467	cah 260; LKM:801; LKIII:134

LOCATION	NAME	NUMBER	REFERENCES
Mukimbungu	Londa	19.1187	LKIII:134; cah 260; LKM803
Mukimbungu	Londa	19.1190	
Mukimbungu	Londa	19.1312	cah260
Mukimbungu	Londa	19.1323	cah 260
Mukimbungu	Londa dianlangu	19.0565	LK:II. fig37
Mukimbungu	Londa dya Nsitu	cah260	LKM:801
Mukimbungu	Londa Makanga	cah261	LKIII:134
Mukimbungu	Lubuka	cah258	
Mukimbungu	Lukaku	19.1134	
Mukimbungu	Lulendo	cah424	LKIII:118, 121
Mukimbungu	Lusunzi	cah259	LKM:821
Mukimbungu	Luvuka	cah258	LKM0826
Mukimbungu	Mabubila	LKM0829	
Mukimbungu	Madungi	cah255	LKIII:126; LKM:831
Mukimbungu	Madungu	54.2481	cah 259; LKM837; KEL "No. 157"
Mukimbungu	Makuta	cah259	
Mukimbungu	Makwende	cah256	LKI:90; LKIII:165; LKM:838
Mukimbungu	Manlengolokono	cah258	LKM846
Mukimbungu	Manzanza	cah257	cah 407; LKM847
Mukimbungu	Manzenzila	cah255	LKM:868
Mukimbungu	Matamba	cah253	LKM:856
Mukimbungu	Mayiza	19.0569	LKIII:164-5; cah 256; LKM865
Mukimbungu	Mayumba	19.1045	
Mukimbungu	Mazenzi	cah255	LKM:868
Mukimbungu	Mbambi	cah224	LKM 869
Mukimbungu	Mbazi	19.1277	
Mukimbungu	Mbumba	19.1050	
Mukimbungu	Mbungu	19.1313	
Mukimbungu	Mbuzi	cah253	LKM:0903
Mukimbungu	Mbwanga	cah259	
Mukimbungu	Mivovele	cah256	LKM:909
Mukimbungu	Mpodi	19.0620	LKII:fig19a
Mukimbungu	Mpungu	cah257	LKIII:142; LKM:938
Mukimbungu	Mvutudi	cah421	LKIII:139; LKM:979
Mukimbungu	Mwanza	cah254	LKIII:119; LKM:984
Mukimbungu	Na Kongo	L.0591	LKIII:147; cah254; LKM:764
Mukimbungu	Na Mbangu	cah258	LKM:871
Mukimbungu	Ndoki a nsoki	cah258	LKM:989
Mukimbungu	Ndumba Ntela	19.1095	see Kinkuma
Mukimbungu	Ndumba Ntela	19.1270	LKIV:73, 161 & figs.11 & 27
Mukimbungu	Ndungina	cah109	
Mukimbungu	Ngobila	cah254	see Makwende
Mukimbungu	Ngovo	cah259	LKM:995
Mukimbungu	Nkanda	cah259	

LOCATION	NAME	NUMBER	REFERENCES
Mukimbungu	Nkengani	cah257	LKM:998
Mukimbungu	Nkiduku	cah133	LKIII:128; LKM:1000
Mukimbungu	Nkondi	19.0537	LKIII:86&fig27; cah258:LKM1016
Mukimbungu	Nkungazi	ch261	LKM:1024
Mukimbungu	Nsakulu	cah252	LKIII:124 (briefly); LKM:1032
Mukimbungu	Nsansi a Matadi	cah257	LKM:1037
Mukimbungu	Nsonde	cah253	LKM:1039
Mukimbungu	Nsulu a nkombo	19.1135	
Mukimbungu	Nsumbu	cah259	LKM:1041
Mukimbungu	Ntadi	cah252	LKM:1046
Mukimbungu	Ntaka	cah259	
Mukimbungu	Nzau	cah252	LKIII:137; LKM:1050
Mukimbungu	Sela Mayende	cah256	
Mukimbungu	Songo	ch260	LKM:1068. Also called Kinkuma
Mukimbungu	Tuseno Mazazu	19.1075	
Mukimbungu	Waniaka (Bovi)	cah255	
Mukimbungu	Zimbambi	cah256	
Mukimbungu	Zimpambu	cah261	LKM:911
Musana	Mayiyama	cah308	LKM:861
Musana	Mbwangi	19.1219	LKM:907 (Kinkenge)
Musansi	Musansi	cah073	LKIII:187
Nganda	Bamfumu	cah159	LKM 700. Also called Nsumbu
Nganda	Lemba	cah181	Janzen 1982; BaYaka; not LKM
Nganda	Londa	54.2369	cah299; LKII:13
Nganda	Lulendo	cah172	LKII:121,153
Nganda	Lunkanka	54.2338	cah306; LKM808; Photo 151:5
Nganda	Madungu	cah334	see Nkoko Bondo
Nganda	Manzanza	LKM0849	Lunungu
Nganda	Mayimbi	cah159	LKIII:156; LKM:860
Nganda	Mayiza	cah159	LKIII:164; LKII:60; cah334
Nganda	Mbambi Bakongo	cah159	LKM:871
Nganda	Mbanda	cah159	
Nganda	Mbumba a Maza	cah173	LKM:889
Nganda	Mbwanga	cah159	LKM:904
Nganda	Mpanzu	cah159	LKIII:150; LKM:916
Nganda	Mutinu	cah058	
Nganda	Mvutudi	cah159	LKIII:138; cah421, 47; LKM:975
Nganda	Mwanza (Ntadi)	cah159	LKIII:119; LKM:985
Nganda	Na Kongo	54.2354	cah296
Nganda	Ngobila	cah159	LKM:993; cah301
Nganda	Ngovo	cah159	LKIII:121
Nganda	Nhingu	cah159	LKIII:185; = Muhingu, q.v.
Nganda	Nkondi	cah159	LKM:1006; LKIII:90
Nganda	Nsansi	cah159	LKM1036;not cited at LKIII:187

LOCATION	NAME	NUMBER	REFERENCES
Nganda	Nsumbu	cah159	LKIII:142; cah117 contributes
Nganda	Ntadi	19.0517	LKM1048 fits, but bell missing
Nganda	Nyambi	cah159	LKM1050
Nganda	Songo	cah159	LKIII:120; LKM:1069
Niangi	Na Kongo	cah382	LKIII: seems not to use it
Vungu	Mbobolo	19.1058	
Vungu	Mpwangala	19.1344	
Vungu	Nduda	19.1054	LKIV:fig.23
Vungu	Nduda	19.1091	

MINKISI BY ACQUISITION NUMBER

NUMBER	NAME	REFERENCES
	Kileeke	LKII:72
	Kula	LKIII:91ff., cah389, 142
	Mfwemo	LKII:73
	Mpodi	LKII:59; LKIII:96-100; LKM926
	Mvwete	LKII:73
	Nkukula	LKII:74. See Nkulula
	Nkumba	LKII:73
	Nsansi	see Musansi
19.0467	Londa	cah 260; LKM:801; LKIII:134
19.0473	Ngundu	LKII:fig17
19.0474	Na Maza	Soderberg 1956:100-04
19.0476	Kivumba	see Mayanda
19.0480	Kiyala	LKM:751??
19.0484	Nkondi tulu	
19.0485	Lau	cah231; LKM 783; see 19.1051
19.0489	Nsasa Mpongo	Soderberg 1956:100-04
19.0500	Nsimba Kiolo	
19.0506	Nsungu	LKII:fig18b
19.0510	Mbumba Bingi	LKIII:42; cah233, 236; amulet
19.0511	Mbongo Nsimba	cah 14, 223; LKIV:fig9
19.0514	Nkoko Bondo	LKIV:fig7; cah389
19.0517	Ntadi	LKM1048 fits, but bell missing
19.0519	Nduda	
19.0527	Kwanza	LKIII:fig5b; LKM 783: "No 172"
19.0531	Kula	cah142, LKIII:92 & fig15
19.0533	Mpodi	
19.0536	Nkulula	This is probably Nkukula
19.0537	Nkondi	LKIII:86&fig27; cah258;LKM1016
19.0538	Mwana Nkondi	LKM:1023. "No.142." See Nkondi
19.0538	Nkondi, mwana	LKM1023(KEL)"No.142"Photo151:3
19.0540	Kula Mfiedila	LKIII:94 & fig36; cah389
19.0553	Mbundu	LKM:895; LKIII:85; cah29, 75
19.0555	Bunzi	LKII:fig1c
19.0565	Londa dianlangu	LK:II, fig37
19.0569	Mayiza	LKIII:164-5; cah 256; LKM865
19.0570	mpiya	
19.0571	Mbumba	LKII:fig.1a
19.0576	Mbumba (Nkiduku)	cah240; LKIII:102; LKM:893
19.0578	mpiya	cah65
19.0579	mpiya	
19.0580	Kubungu	
19.0583	Lemba	LKII:fig32; LKM 797, 799

NUMBER	NAME	REFERENCES
19.0589	Mbumba ye kunda	LKIII:101; cah097; LKM886, 889
19.0590	Kula Bandoki	LKIII:fig19a; cah15
19.0620	Mpodi	LKII:fig19a
19.0642	mpiya	cah65
19.0722	Ngwima	LKIII:169,fig39; cah15; LKM996
19.0723	Mambuka a Kongo	
19.0764	Ngovo	cah240
19.1041	Diba	
19.1044	Mayumba	
19.1045	Mayumba	
19.1050	Mbumba	
19.1051	Lau	cah15; part of 19.485
19.1052	Nsonde yadila	
19.1053	Nsungu	cah231
19.1054	Nduda	LKIV:fig.23
19.1058	Mbobolo	
19.1059	Londa dianlangu	
19.1065	Na Maza	
19.1066	Masimu	
19.1067	Kidya Nkanka	amulet
19.1068	Buntela	
19.1070	Mbumba mpiakele	
19.1073	Nsasi	
19.1075	Tuseno Mazazu	
19.1076	Nkoko Bondo	LKII:fig24; cah231
19.1079	Lubangala	cah224; LKM:806
19.1081	Musansi Bitutu	LKIII151&fig43;LKM953;cah28,95
19.1083	Mabela	
19.1084	Disu Nkama	
19.1085	Lau	cah 231
19.1087	Kiananga	
19.1091	Nduda	
19.1093	Mabiala Mandemb	
19.1094	Kimbwiti	"No.770"
19.1095	Ndumba Ntela	see Kinkuma
19.1096	Nkisi ababonso	
19.1097	Fundu Kimbwa	
19.1099	Mabiala	LKIII:158; LKM:830; cah224
19.1099	Mabiala Mandemb	
19.1101	Mbenza	
19.1102	Mbwanga	?LKM906, KEL "No.150" ?cah95
19.1103	Buntela	
19.1105	Bakulu	cah015 (Kinkenge)
19.1106	Lambamanga	LKIV:fig.30

NUMBER	NAME	REFERENCES
19.1108	Kinkuma [Songo]	LKIII:184; LKD
19.1110	Ndobi	LKIII:fig19b
19.1112	Mwimba Ngabu	
19.1119	Na Kongo	LKIII:143ff
19.1130	Nkisi ababonso	
19.1132	Makongo Mbongo	
19.1134	Lukaku	
19.1135	Nsulu a nkombo	
19.1136	Biyimbu	
19.1137	Nziodi Kodia	cah28; LKD s.v. zannga
19.1141	Nzieta siodi	
19.1145	Nsonde Ngovo	cah240:9; see Ngovo
19.1148	Mayanda	LKM:857; see also Kivumba
19.1149	Nkula Ngombo	
19.1150	Na Maza	
19.1152	Nsakula	
19.1154	Na Maza	
19.1155	Nsimu	
19.1156	Matenzi	cah 224; LKM:857
19.1159	Kikoka	
19.1160	Nkele-nkele	Soderberg 1956:100–104
19.1161	Nzau mfioni	LKIII:184
19.1162	Nkubulu	cah218; LKII:67–70
19.1163	Nkaza	
19.1164	Kubungu	
19.1166	Ndundu	LKIII:132; cah15; LKM:990
19.1167	Ntadi	
19.1169	Ntinu Kongo	
19.1170	Nkita Niumbu	LKII: fig35b&39; read “Nsumbu”
19.1171	Nkengele	cah231; LKIV:69 and fig.10
19.1172	Nkanga Mbadi	
19.1173	Mpanzu Nkento	LKII: fig9a; cf.19.1182
19.1175	Nkisi nsi	LKII: 150; cf. Mukisi Nsi
19.1176	Makuni bakento	LKIV:41 & fig.6; cah344
19.1177	Mbundu	cah 221; LKII:fig9b
19.1178	Kubungu	
19.1179	Ngundunga	cah382
19.1182	Mpanzu Bakala	cah240; LKM:917
19.1183	Mutadi	LKIII:81;LKM961(KEL);cah96,142
19.1184	Nsasi	LKIV:127 & fig.22
19.1185	Mabiala Mandemb	
19.1187	Londa	LKIII:134; cah 260; LKM803
19.1190	Londa	
19.1191	Lunga Bwala	

NUMBER	NAME	REFERENCES
19.1192	Mbumba Lwangu	
19.1194	Kinkuma	LKIII:120,184; cah259; LKM:747
19.1210	Nziodi	
19.1212	Mpodi	
19.1213	Mpodi	
19.1218	Makongo Mbu	
19.1219	Mbwangi	LKM:907 (Kinkenge)
19.1221	Mukwanga Funza	
19.1222	Mayungi	
19.1233	Nsasi	
19.1237	Nsakulu	LKIII:124 is similar
19.1239	Koka Nkombe	
19.1241	Kimbandi	
19.1244	Mbwanga	
19.1250	Lembikila	
19.1254	Mbenza	
19.1263	Nduda	LKII:fig.20b; cah17
19.1264	Bau	cah 221; LKM 1110
19.1264	Bau	Lutete, LKM:1110; LKII:129
19.1269	Nsansi	cah28,95; LKIV:fig1; LKIII:187
19.1270	Ndumba Ntela	LKIV:73, 161 & figs.11 & 27
19.1275	Nkiduku	LKIII:128; cah27; LKM:999
19.1277	Mbazi	
19.1289	Mpodi	LKII:fig12c
19.1305	Nkiduku	
19.1308	Mbu Mamba	
19.1309	Kimpanzu,Mpanzu	cah253,260; LKIII:151; LKM:736
19.1312	Londa	cah 260
19.1313	Mbungu	
19.1314	Kubungu	LKM:769; LKIII:166; cah28
19.1316	Nkondi a Mamba	LKIV:fig21; LKM1022; cah224
19.1323	Londa	cah 260
19.1335	Mabiala Mandemb	cah224; LKIII:158
19.1344	Mpwangala	
19.1345	Mpodi	LKII:fig19b; LKIII:96; LKM931
19.1347	Kinkita (Kipeka)	LKIII:157; LKM:749
19.1347	Kipeka (Kinkita)	LKIII:157; cah387,388; LKM:743
19.1349	Bunzi (Mwana)	LKIII:105&fig16,18
19.1351	Mpodi	LKII:fig19c; LKIII:96; LKM:96
19.1352	Mutinu Mamba	LKIII:162; cah27; LKM:969, 971
19.1357	Nkita Nsumbu	LKII:fig35a&38;cah224;LKM1001
19.1358	Mbenza	LKIII:fig.23; LKII:fig.36
19.1359	Nkondi Nsanda	LKIII:fig13,14; cah240;LKM1020
19.1394	Nkondi	LKII:fig21a;LKM1010(KEL);cah27

NUMBER	NAME	REFERENCES
19.1395	Nkondi	LKII fig.22
19.1397	Nkondi ya nkoma	LKII:fig21b; cah27,74; LKM1007
19.1398	Nkondi Malwadi	
19.500	Tsimba Kiolo	
54.2338	Lunkanka	cah306; LKM808; Photo 151:5
54.2339	Mfingi	
54.2354	Na Kongo	cah296
54.2361	Kinkanda	
54.2369	Londa	cah299; LKII:13
54.2481	Madungu	cah 259; LKM837; KEL "No. 157"
54.2569	Mbenza	prob. LKIII:fig.11, L.560
54.2570	Mbenza Mangund	LKIII: plate 2, fig.22; cah344
54.2641	Mbenza Mangund	cah344
cah007	Mwanza (Ntadi)	
cah014	Bunzi Nkenge v.	LKIII:108;LKM:718
cah014	Malwangu Bunzi	LKIII:108; cah8; LKM:718
cah014	Nsimbu	LKM:1038
cah015	Kiniumba	
cah015	Lemba	LKIII:116; LKM:792
cah015	Lumoni	
cah015	Maniangu	
cah015	Matala-tala	
cah015	Me Mpanga	LKM:907
cah015	Me Nsungu	LKM:908
cah015	Mikwanga	
cah015	Mukisi Nsi	LKIII:168; LKM:945
cah015	Mwalele	LKM:982
cah015	Nsungu	different function from 19.506
cah016	Lemba Mansundi	LKIII:116
cah016	Mbongo	LKM:880
cah016	Mbumba Cindongo	LKIII:102; LKM:891
cah016	Mpemba Dimpombo	LKM:921
cah027	Mpanzu Mbombo	LKIII:149; LKM:916
cah028	Mukubulu	LKM:946
cah028	Nkusu	LKIII:118; LKM:1025
cah047	Masisya	LKM:854
cah047	Mvutudi	LKM:977; LKIII:140
cah058	Mutinu	
cah058	Na Kongo	LKM:753; LKIII:143-6 (mixed)
cah068	Kileke	LKD
cah073	Musansi	LKIII:187
cah073	Musansi	LKIII:187
cah073	NaKanga Vangu	
cah073	Nsonde	

NUMBER	NAME	REFERENCES
cah074	Mukwanga	
cah074	Yoba	
cah079	Lemba	not in LKM
cah080	Bambimi	cah322 by Mawuku; 80, Kimbembe
cah080	Mubwongo	
cah080	Mubwongo	
cah080	Nkondi	
cah083	Bo(m)vi	LKM:702; also called Mbola
cah083	Mbola	
cah095	Mbwanga	LKIII:158; LKM:905; cf.19.1102
cah095	Mpanda	LKM:913, 914 (KEL)
cah096	Kinswiti	LKIII:160; LKM:748
cah096	Mbuku (Bunzi)	LKIII:110; LKM:883
cah097	Mwe Solo	LKM1060; also called Mpanzu
cah097	Zyeta	LKIII:154;LKM1071;cfNkutuZyeta
cah098	Bunzi Ngulu	LKIII:107; LKM:719
cah098	Nkiduku	LKIII:128
cah109	Ndungina	
cah116	Mabimba	LKM:828
cah116	Malwangu	LKIII:152; LKM:841
cah116	Mbola	cah119; LKM:879
cah116	Nsakulu	LKIII:124; LKM:1030
cah117	Nkutu a Zyeta	LKIII:155; LKM:1028
cah117	Simbi	LKIII:131
cah118	Kodya dya Nzau	LKIII:138; LKM:724 Also Diila
cah118	Mayimbi	LKIII:155-6; LKM:857; cah119
cah118	Tolo	
cah119	Lemba	LKIII:117; LKM795
cah119	Makongo Banga	LKIII:147; LKM:767
cah119	Mungundu	
cah119	Nkondi Mantuku	LKIII:86,189
cah119	Nkondi Mungundu	also cah224 (Lolo)
cah120	Ntinu Malenga	LKM:1049; cf. Mutinu
cah133	Nkiduku	LKIII:128; LKM:1000
cah139	Lumoni	also called Bunzi Nsemuka
cah139	Luvu	also called Bunzi
cah139	Nkondi Mafula	
cah139	Nkutu nsi	LKM:1028
cah140	Mwandazi	LKIII:128; LKM:983
cah141	Mboko	LKM:873
cah141	Nkondi Ntilumuk	LKIII:87; LKM:1019
cah142	Bunzi Nsemuka	LKIII:105 cah139:13
cah142	Kula Mpungila	
cah142	Lemba	LKIII:113; Janzen 1982; LKM784

NUMBER	NAME	REFERENCES
cah142	Mpodi Mputu	LKIII:99; LKM:922; cf 19.1345
cah142	Muhongo	LKIII:126; LKM 942
cah142	Nkomina	LKIII:167; LKM:1003
cah143	Muhingu	LKII:59; LKIII:136; cah139
cah143	Mungani	cah139:11; 142:10; LKM:950
cah143	Nkondi Mfyedila	LKIII:89; LKM:1018
cah143	Nzenze	LKM:1053
cah144	Mampungu	LKM:842
cah144	Nzemba	LKM:1051
cah152	Mpu	LKIII:123; LKM:938
cah153	Nkosi	LKIII:91; LKM:1023
cah159	Bamfumu	LKM 700. Also called Nsumbu
cah159	Mayimbi	LKIII:156; LKM:860
cah159	Mayiza	LKIII:164; LKII:60; cah334
cah159	Mbambi Bakongo	LKM:871
cah159	Mbanda	
cah159	Mbwanga	LKM:904
cah159	Mpanzu	LKIII:150; LKM:916
cah159	Mvutudi	LKIII:138; cah421, 47; LKM:975
cah159	Mwanza (Ntadi)	LKIII:119; LKM:985
cah159	Ngobila	LKM:993; cah301
cah159	Ngovo	LKIII:121
cah159	Nhingu	LKIII:185; = Muhingu, q.v.
cah159	Nkondi	LKM:1006; LKIII:90
cah159	Nsansi	LKM1036; not cited at LKIII:187
cah159	Nsumbu	LKIII:142; cah117 contributes
cah159	Nyambi	LKM1050
cah159	Songo	LKIII:120; LKM:1069
cah172	Lulendo	LKII:121, 153
cah173	Mbumba a Maza	LKM:889
cah181	Lemba	Janzen 1982; BaYaka; not LKM
cah211	Luvemba (Bunzi)	LKM:824
cah212	Songo	LKM1064; called Nsonde Ngovo
cah212	Songo	LKM1065; & called Nsonde Ngovo
cah224	Mankuni	LKM:844
cah224	Mbambi	LKM 869
cah224	Nkita Nyombe	
cah225	Mbenza	LKIII:129
cah229	Lemba	not in LKM
cah240	Funza dya Monzi	LKIII:112; LKM:727
cah240	Lufwa lua Mwaka	LKM:806
cah240	Mpandi ya kadi	LKM:914
cah240	Mwivi	LKIII:122; LKM:986
cah240	Nkita Nsi	LKIII:132; LKM:1002

NUMBER	NAME	REFERENCES
cah252	Nsakulu	LKIII:124 (briefly); LKM:1032
cah252	Ntadi	LKM:1046
cah252	Nzau	LKIII:137; LKM:1050
cah253	Dia Bilezi	LKIII:168; LKM:722; cah407
cah253	Matamba	LKM:856
cah253	Mbuzi	LKM:0903
cah253	Nsonde	LKM:1039
cah254	Bamfumu	see Makwende; LKIII:165
cah254	Bodisa	LKM:701
cah254	Kimfwita	LKIII:141, misspelled; LKM:734
cah254	Mwanza	LKIII:119; LKM:984
cah254	Ngobila	see Makwende
cah255	Kindyondyo	LKIII:159; LKM:737
cah255	Madungi	LKIII:126; LKM:831
cah255	Manzenzila	LKM:868
cah255	Mazenzi	LKM:868
cah255	Waniaka (Bovi)	
cah256	Makwende	LKI:90; LKIII:165; LKM:838
cah256	Mivovele	LKM:909
cah256	Sela Mayende	
cah256	Zimbambi	
cah257	Kibungi	LKM:729
cah257	Kindungu-ndungu	
cah257	Kinkanda	LKM:741
cah257	Manzanza	cah 407; LKM847
cah257	Mpungu	LKIII:142; LKM:938
cah257	Nkengani	LKM:998
cah257	Nsansi a Matadi	LKM:1037
cah258	Lubuka	
cah258	Luvuka	LKM0826
cah258	Manlengolokono	LKM846
cah258	Na Mbangu	LKM:871
cah258	Ndoki a nsoki	LKM:989
cah259	Dyatu	LKIII:141
cah259	Funza	LKIII:112;
cah259	Lusunzi	LKM:821
cah259	Makuta	
cah259	Mbwanga	
cah259	Ngovo	LKM:995
cah259	Nkanda	
cah259	Nkondi a Mamba	
cah259	Nsansi	
cah259	Nsumbu	LKM:1041
cah259	Ntaka	

NUMBER	NAME	REFERENCES
cah260	Londa dya Nsitu	LKM:801
cah261	Londa Makanga	LKIII:134
cah261	Zimpambu	LKM:911
cah296	Na Kongo	LKIII:178
cah308	Mayiyama	LKM:861
cah334	Madungu	see Nkoko Bondo
cah344	Makuni Mankoko	
cah344	Nzemba Mbenza	
cah345	Lemba	not in LKM
cah347	Musansi abiteki	LKIII:152 & LKM:957 are by KEL
cah382	Na Kongo	LKIII: seems not to use it
cah387	Luhemba	
cah387	Luvemba	LKM:823
cah387	Mwe Kongo	LKIII:143
cah387	Na Kongo	LKM:760; LKIII:143-7 (mixed)
cah388	Mukwanga Yulu	cah074; LKM:947
cah388	Mwe Nsundi	LKIII:148; LKM1044; cah95(1042)
cah389	Londa Mabuta	LKIII:133; LKM804
cah390	Bisimbi	
cah390	Bunzi mu Mpidi	LKIII:108; LKM:0721
cah390	Kiyala	LKIII:122; LKM:750
cah390	Mbola	cah083; LKIII:103; LKM:874
cah407	Bakulu	LKM:701
cah407	Lemba	
cah407	Na Kongo	
cah407	Simbi	LKM:1060
cah421	Mvutudi	LKIII:139; LKM:979
cah424	Lulendo	LKIII:118, 121
ch260	Songo	LKM:1068. Also called Kinkuma
ch261	Nkungazi	LKM:1024
L.0505	Nduda	LKII:fig.20a
L.0591	Na Kongo	LKIII:147; cah254; LKM:764
L.0726	Mavungu	LKIII:plate 1
L.1395	Nkondi	LKII:fig22
LKM0732	Kidyata	LKIII:166 – KEL
LKM0734	Kimbula	LKIII:167
LKM0802	Londa Nkosula	LKIII:134
LKM0829	Mabubila	
LKM0849	Manzanza	Lunungu
LKM0857	Mavuta	KEL: “no. 175; like Kidyata”
LKM0867	Mayodi	
LKM0873	Mbenza	very brief; no other in LKM
LKM0880	Mbongo	
LKM0907	Mbwanga Kisimbi	KEL “No.177”; cf.19.1102, 1244

NUMBER	NAME	REFERENCES
LKM0936	Mpodi	KEL: "No.132"
LKM0937	Mpokoni	
LKM0956	Manswana	KEL: "No 148"
LKM1032	Nsakulu	KEL "No.130"; LKIII:125
LKM1035	Nsambu	
LKM1041	Nsumba	KEL "No. 159"
LKM1064	Sompolo	KEL: "No.174"
LKM1070	Suku	

MASTER LIST OF MINKISI

NAME	LOCATION	NUMBER	REFERENCES
Bakulu	Kasi	cah407	LKM:701
Bakulu	Kinkonzi	19.1105	cah015 (Kinkenge)
Bambimi	Madzia	cah080	cah322 by Mawuku; 80, Kimbembe
Bamfumu	Mukimbungu	cah254	see Makwende; LKIII:165
Bamfumu	Nganda	cah159	LKM 700. Also called Nsumbu
Bau	Lolo	19.1264	Lutete, LKM:1110; LKII:129
Bau	Mayombe	19.1264	cah 221; LKM 1110
Bisimbi	Kingoyi	cah390	
Biyimbu	Lolo	19.1136	
Bo(m)vi	Kibunzi	cah083	LKM:702; also called Mbola
Bodisa	Mukimbungu	cah254	LKM:701
Buntela	Kinkenge	19.1068	
Buntela	Kinkenge	19.1103	
Bunzi	Mayombe	19.0555	LKII:fig1c
Bunzi (Mwana)	Kingoyi	19.1349	LKIII:105&fig16,18
Bunzi mu Mpidi	Kingoyi	cah390	LKIII:108;LKM:0721
Bunzi Ngulu	Kingoyi	cah098	LKIII:107; LKM:719
Bunzi Nkenge v.	Kinkenge	cah014	LKIII:108;LKM:718
Bunzi Nsemuka	Kingoyi	cah142	LKIII:105 cah139:13
Dia Bilezi	Mukimbungu	cah253	LKIII:168; LKM:722; cah407
Diba	Mukimbungu	19.1041	
Disu Nkama	Kingoyi	19.1084	
Dyatu	Mukimbungu	cah259	LKIII:141
Fundu Kimbwa	Kinkenge	19.1097	
Funza	Mukimbungu	cah259	LKIII:112;
Funza dya Monzi	Lolo	cah240	LKIII:112; LKM:727
Kiananga	Lolo	19.1087	
Kibungi	Mukimbungu	cah257	LKM:729
Kidya Nkanka	Lolo	19.1067	amulet
Kidyata		LKM0732	LKIII:166 – KEL
Kikoka	Kinkonzi	19.1159	
Kileeke			LKII:72
Kileke	Kibunzi	cah068	LKD
Kimbandi	Lolo	19.1241	
Kimbula	Kinkenge	LKM0734	LKIII:167
Kimbwiti	Mayombe	19.1094	“No.770”
Kimfwita	Mukimbungu	cah254	LKIII:141, misspelled; LKM:734
Kimpanzu,Mpanzu	Mukimbungu	19.1309	cah253,260; LKIII:151; LKM:736
Kindungu-ndungu	Mukimbungu	cah257	
Kindyondyo	Mukimbungu	cah255	LKIII:159; LKM:737
Kiniumba	Kinkenge	cah015	
Kinkanda	Kingoyi	54.2361	

NAME	LOCATION	NUMBER	REFERENCES
Kinkanda	Mukimbungu	cah257	LKM:741
Kinkita (Kipeka)	Kingoyi	19.1347	LKIII:157; LKM:749
Kinkuma	Mukimbungu	19.1194	LKIII:120,184; cah259; LKM:747
Kinkuma [Songo]	Kingoyi	19.1108	LKIII:184; LKD
Kinswiti	Kingoyi	cah096	LKIII:160; LKM:748
Kipeka (Kinkita)	Kingoyi	19.1347	LKIII:157; cah387,388; LKM:743
Kivumba		19.0476	see Mayanda
Kiyala	Kingoyi	cah390	LKIII:122; LKM:750
Kiyala	Mukimbungu	19.0480	LKM:751??
Kodya dya Nzau	Kinkenge	cah118	LKIII:138; LKM:724 Also Diila
Koka Nkombe	Lolo	19.1239	
Kubungu	Kingoyi	19.1314	LKM:769; LKIII:166; cah28
Kubungu	Kinkonzi	19.1164	
Kubungu	Kinkonzi	19.1178	
Kubungu	Mukimbungu	19.0580	
Kula	general		LKIII:91ff., cah389, 142
Kula	Kingoyi	19.0531	cah142, LKIII:92 & fig15
Kula Bandoki	Mayombe	19.0590	LKIII:fig19a; cah15
Kula Mfiedila	Kingoyi	19.0540	LKIII:94 & fig36; cah389
Kula Mpungila	Kingoyi	cah142	
Kwanza	Kingoyi	19.0527	LKIII:fig5b; LKM 783: "No 172"
Lambamanga	Kinkonko	19.1106	LKIV:fig.30
Lau	Lolo	19.0485	cah231; LKM 783; see 19.1051
Lau	Lolo	19.1085	cah 231
Lau	Mayombe	19.1051	cah15; part of 19.485
Lemba	Kasi	cah407	
Lemba	Kingoyi	cah142	LKIII:113; Janzen 1982; LKM784
Lemba	Kingoyi	cah345	not in LKM
Lemba	Kinkenge	cah015	LKIII:116; LKM:792
Lemba	Kinkenge	cah119	LKIII:117; LKM795
Lemba	Lolo	cah229	not in LKM
Lemba	Madzia	cah079	not in LKM
Lemba	Mukimbungu	19.0583	LKII:fig32; LKM 797, 799
Lemba	Nganda	cah181	Janzen 1982; BaYaka; not LKM
Lemba Mansundi	Kinkenge	cah016	LKIII:116
Lembikila	Mukimbungu	19.1250	
Londa	Mukimbungu	19.0467	cah 260; LKM:801; LKIII:134
Londa	Mukimbungu	19.1187	LKIII:134; cah 260; LKM803
Londa	Mukimbungu	19.1190	
Londa	Mukimbungu	19.1312	cah260
Londa	Mukimbungu	19.1323	cah 260
Londa	Nganda	54.2369	cah299; LKII:13
Londa dianlangu	Kinkenge	19.1059	
Londa dianlangu	Mukimbungu	19.0565	LK:II, fig37

NAME	LOCATION	NUMBER	REFERENCES
Londa dya Nsitu	Mukimbungu	cah260	LKM:801
Londa Mabuta	Kingoyi	cah389	LKIII:133; LKM804
Londa Makanga	Mukimbungu	cah261	LKIII:134
Londa Nkosula	Kinkenge	LKM0802	LKIII:134
Lubangala	Kinkenge	19.1079	cah224; LKM:806
Lubuka	Mukimbungu	cah258	
Lufwa lua Mwaka	Lolo	cah240	LKM:806
Luhemba	Kingoyi	cah387	
Lukaku	Mukimbungu	19.1134	
Lulendo	Mukimbungu	cah424	LKIII:118, 121
Lulendo	Nganda	cah172	LKII:121,153
Lumoni	Kingoyi	cah139	also called Bunzi Nsemuka
Lumoni	Kinkenge	cah015	
Lunga Bwala	Lolo	19.1191	
Lunkanka	Nganda	54.2338	cah306; LKM808; Photo 151:5
Lusunzi	Mukimbungu	cah259	LKM:821
Luvemba	Kingoyi	cah387	LKM:823
Luvemba (Bunzi)	Kimpunga	cah211	LKM:824
Luvu	Kingoyi	cah139	also called Bunzi
Luvuka	Mukimbungu	cah258	LKM0826
Mabela	Kingoyi	19.1083	
Mabiala	Lolo	cah224	LKIII:158; LKM:830
Mabiala Mandemb	Lolo	19.1093	
Mabiala Mandemb	Lolo	19.1099	
Mabiala Mandemb	Lolo	19.1185	
Mabiala Mandemb	Lolo	19.1335	cah224; LKIII:158
Mabimba	Kinkenge	cah116	LKM:828
Mabubila	Mukimbungu	LKM0829	
Madungi	Mukimbungu	cah255	LKIII:126; LKM:831
Madungu	Mukimbungu	54.2481	cah 259; LKM837; KEL "No. 157"
Madungu	Nganda	cah334	see Nkoko Bondo
Makongo Banga	Kinkenge	cah119	LKIII:147; LKM:767
Makongo Mbongo	Mayombe	19.1132	
Makongo Mbu	Kiobo	19.1218	
Makuni bakento	Lolo	19.1176	LKIV:41 & fig.6; cah344
Makuni Mankoko	Kiobo	cah344	
Makuta	Mukimbungu	cah259	
Makwende	Mukimbungu	cah256	LKI:90; LKIII:165; LKM:838
Malwangu	Kinkenge	cah116	LKIII:152; LKM:841
Malwangu Bunzi	Kinkenge	cah014	LKIII:108; cah8; LKM:718
Mambuka a Kongo	Mayombe	19.0723	
Mampunga	Kingoyi	cah144	LKM:842
Maniangu	Kinkenge	cah015	
Mankuni	Lolo	cah224	LKM:844

NAME	LOCATION	NUMBER	REFERENCES
Manlengolokono	Mukimbungu	cah258	LKM846
Manswana		LKM0956	KEL: "No 148"
Manzanza	Mukimbungu	cah257	cah 407; LKM847
Manzanza	Nganda	LKM0849	Lunungu
Manzenzila	Mukimbungu	cah255	LKM:868
Masimu	Lolo	19.1066	
Masisya	Kibunzi	cah047	LKM:854
Matala-tala	Kinkenge	cah015	
Matamba	Mukimbungu	cah253	LKM:856
Matenzi	Kinkonzi	19.1156	cah 224; LKM:857
Mavungu	Mayombe	L.0726	LKIII:plate 1
Mavuta		LKM0857	KEL: "no. 175; like Kidyata"
Mayanda	Kinkonzi	19.1148	LKM:857; see also Kivumba
Mayimbi	Kinkenge	cah118	LKIII:155-6; LKM:857; cah119
Mayimbi	Nganda	cah159	LKIII:156; LKM:860
Mayiyama	Musana	cah308	LKM:861
Mayiza	Mukimbungu	19.0569	LKIII:164-5; cah 256; LKM865
Mayiza	Nganda	cah159	LKIII:164; LKII:60; cah334
Mayodi	Lolo	LKM0867	
Mayumba	Lolo	19.1044	
Mayumba	Mukimbungu	19.1045	
Mayungi	Kingoyi	19.1222	
Mazenzi	Mukimbungu	cah255	LKM:868
Mbambi	Mukimbungu	cah224	LKM 869
Mbambi Bakongo	Nganda	cah159	LKM:871
Mbanda	Nganda	cah159	
Mbazi	Mukimbungu	19.1277	
Mbenza	Kimpunga	LKM0873	very brief; no other in LKM
Mbenza	Lolo	19.1101	
Mbenza	Lolo	19.1254	
Mbenza	Lolo	19.1358	LKIII:fig.23; LKII:fig.36
Mbenza	Lolo	cah225	LKIII:129
Mbenza	Mayombe	54.2569	prob. LKIII:fig.11, L.560
Mbenza Mangund	Kiobo	54.2570	LKIII: plate 2, fig.22; cah344
Mbenza Mangund	Mayombe	54.2641	cah344
Mbobolo	Vungu	19.1058	
Mboko	Kingoyi	cah141	LKM:873
Mbola	Kibunzi	cah083	
Mbola	Kingoyi	cah390	cah083; LKIII:103; LKM:874
Mbola	Kinkenge	cah116	cah119; LKM:879
Mbongo	Kinkenge	cah016	LKM:880
Mbongo	Lolo	LKM0880	
Mbongo Nsimba	Mayombe	19.0511	cah 14, 223; LKIV:fig9
Mbu Mamba	Kiobo	19.1308	

NAME	LOCATION	NUMBER	REFERENCES
Mbuku (Bunzi)	Kingoyi	cah096	LKIII:110; LKM:883
Mbumba		19.0571	LKII:fig.1a
Mbumba	Mukimbungu	19.1050	
Mbumba (Nkiduku)	Lolo	19.0576	cah240; LKIII:102; LKM:893
Mbumba a Maza	Nganda	cah173	LKM:889
Mbumba Bingi	Kinkenge	19.0510	LKIII:42; cah233, 236
Mbumba Cindongo	Kinkenge	cah016	LKIII:102; LKM:891
Mbumba Lwangu	Lolo	19.1192	
Mbumba mpiakele	Lolo	19.1070	
Mbumba ye kunda	Kingoyi	19.0589	LKIII:101; cah097; LKM886, 889
Mbundu	Kingoyi	19.0553	LKM:895; LKIII:85; cah29, 75
Mbundu	Kinkonzi	19.1177	cah 221; LKII:fig9b
Mbungu	Mukimbungu	19.1313	
Mbuzi	Mukimbungu	cah253	LKM:0903
Mbwanga	Kingoyi	cah095	LKIII:158; LKM:905; cf.19.1102
Mbwanga	Kinkenge	19.1102	?LKM906, KEL "No.150" ?cah95
Mbwanga	Lolo	19.1244	
Mbwanga	Mukimbungu	cah259	
Mbwanga	Nganda	cah159	LKM:904
Mbwanga Kisimbi		LKM0907	KEL "No.177"; cf.19.1102, 1244
Mbwangi	Musana	19.1219	LKM:907 (Kinkenge)
Me Mpanga	Kinkenge	cah015	LKM:907
Me Nsungu	Kinkenge	cah015	LKM:908
Mfingi	Mayombe	54.2339	
Mfwemo			LKII:73
Mikwanga	Kinkenge	cah015	
Mivovele	Mukimbungu	cah256	LKM:909
Mpanda	Kingoyi	cah095	LKM:913, 914 (KEL)
Mpandi ya kadi	Lolo	cah240	LKM:914
Mpanzu	Nganda	cah159	LKIII:150; LKM:916
Mpanzu Bakala	Lolo	19.1182	cah240; LKM:917
Mpanzu Mbombo	Kingoyi	cah027	LKIII:149; LKM:916
Mpanzu Nkento	Lolo	19.1173	LKII: fig9a; cf.19.1182
Mpemba Dimpombo	Kinkenge	cah016	LKM:921
mpiya	Kingoyi	19.0579	
mpiya	Kolo	19.0570	
mpiya	Kolo	19.0578	cah65
mpiya	Kolo	19.0642	cah65
Mpodi		LKM0936	KEL: "No.132"
Mpodi	general		LKII:59; LKIII:96-100; LKM926
Mpodi	Kingoyi	19.0533	
Mpodi	Kingoyi	19.1212	
Mpodi	Kingoyi	19.1213	
Mpodi	Kingoyi	19.1289	LKII:fig12c

NAME	LOCATION	NUMBER	REFERENCES
Mpodi	Kingoyi	19.1345	LKII:fig19b; LKIII:96; LKM931
Mpodi	Kingoyi	19.1351	LKII:fig19c; LKIII:96; LKM:96
Mpodi	Mukimbungu	19.0620	LKII:fig19a
Mpodi Mputu	Kingoyi	cah142	LKIII:99; LKM:922; cf 19.1345
Mpokoni	Lolo	LKM0937	
Mpu	Manianga	cah152	LKIII:123; LKM:938
Mpungu	Mukimbungu	cah257	LKIII:142; LKM:938
Mpwangala	Vungu	19.1344	
Mubwongo	Madzia	cah080	
Mubwongo	Madzia	cah080	
Muhingu	Kingoyi	cah143	LKII:59; LKIII:136; cah139
Muhongo	Kingoyi	cah142	LKIII:126; LKM 942
Mukisi Nsi	Kinkenge	cah015	LKIII:168; LKM:945
Mukubulu	Kingoyi	cah028	LKM:946
Mukwanga	Kingoyi	cah074	
Mukwanga Funza	Lolo	19.1221	
Mukwanga Yulu	Kingoyi	cah388	cah074; LKM:947
Mungani	Kingoyi	cah143	cah139:11; 142:10; LKM:950
Mungundu	Kinkenge	cah119	
Musansi	Kibunzi	cah073	LKIII:187
Musansi	Musansi	cah073	LKIII:187
Musansi abiteki	Kingoyi	cah347	LKIII:152 & LKM:957 are by KEL
Musansi Bitutu	Ludima	19.1081	LKIII:151&fig43;LKM953;cah28,95
Mutadi	Kingoyi	19.1183	LKIII:81;LKM961(KEL);cah96,142
Mutinu	Nganda	cah058	
Mutinu Mamba	Kingoyi	19.1352	LKIII:162; cah27; LKM:969, 971
Mvutudi	Kibunzi	cah047	LKM:977; LKIII:140
Mvutudi	Mukimbungu	cah421	LKIII:139; LKM:979
Mvutudi	Nganda	cah159	LKIII:138; cah421, 47; LKM:975
Mvwete			LKII:73
Mwalele	Kinkenge	cah015	LKM:982
Mwana Nkondi	Kingoyi	19.0538	LKM:1023. "No.142." See Nkondi
Mwandazi	Kingoyi	cah140	LKIII:128; LKM:983
Mwanza	Mukimbungu	cah254	LKIII:119; LKM:984
Mwanza (Ntadi)	Kinkenge	cah007	
Mwanza (Ntadi)	Nganda	cah159	LKIII:119; LKM:985
Mwe Kongo	Kingoyi	cah387	LKIII:143
Mwe Nsundi	Kingoyi	cah388	LKIII:148; LKM1044; cah95(1042)
Mwe Solo	Kingoyi	cah097	LKM1060; also called Mpanzu
Mwimba Ngabu	Kiobo	19.1112	
Mwivi	Lolo	cah240	LKIII:122; LKM:986
Na Kongo	Bulu	cah058	LKM:753; LKIII:143-6 (mixed)
Na Kongo	Bulu	cah296	LKIII:178
Na Kongo	Kasi	cah407	

NAME	LOCATION	NUMBER	REFERENCES
Na Kongo	Kingoyi	cah387	LKM:760; LKIII:143-7 (mixed)
Na Kongo	Lolo	19.1119	LKIII:143ff
Na Kongo	Mukimbungu	L.0591	LKIII:147; cah254; LKM:764
Na Kongo	Nganda	54.2354	cah296
Na Kongo	Niangi	cah382	LKIII: seems not to use it
Na Maza	Kinkenge	19.0474	Soderberg 1956:100-04
Na Maza	Lolo	19.1065	
Na Maza	Lolo	19.1150	
Na Maza	Lolo	19.1154	
Na Mbangi	Mukimbungu	cah258	LKM:871
NaKanga Vangu	Kibunzi	cah073	
Ndobi	Kiobo	19.1110	LKIII:fig19b
Ndoki a nsoki	Mukimbungu	cah258	LKM:989
Nduda	Kiobo	19.0519	
Nduda	Kiobo	L.0505	LKII:fig.20a
Nduda	Mayombe	19.1263	LKII:fig.20b;cah17
Nduda	Vungu	19.1054	LKIV:fig.23
Nduda	Vungu	19.1091	
Ndumba Ntela	Mukimbungu	19.1095	see Kinkuma
Ndumba Ntela	Mukimbungu	19.1270	LKIV:73, 161 & figs.11 & 27
Ndundu	Ludima	19.1166	LKIII:132; cah15; LKM:990
Ndungina	Mukimbungu	cah109	
Ngobila	Mukimbungu	cah254	see Makwende
Ngobila	Nganda	cah159	LKM:993; cah301
Ngovo	Kiobo	19.0764	cah240
Ngovo	Mukimbungu	cah259	LKM:995
Ngovo	Nganda	cah159	LKIII:121
Ngundu	Lolo	19.0473	LKII:fig17
Ngundunga	Lolo	19.1179	cah382
Ngwima	Kinkenge	19.0722	LKIII:169,fig39; cah15; LKM996
Nhingu	Nganda	cah159	LKIII:185; = Muhingu, q.v.
Nkanda	Mukimbungu	cah259	
Nkanga Mbadi	Lolo	19.1172	
Nkaza	Kinkonzi	19.1163	
Nkele-nkele	Lolo	19.1160	Soderberg 1956:100-104
Nkengani	Mukimbungu	cah257	LKM:998
Nkengele	Lolo	19.1171	cah231; LKIV:69 and fig.10
Nkiduku	Kingoyi	19.1275	LKIII:128; cah27; LKM:999
Nkiduku	Kingoyi	19.1305	
Nkiduku	Kingoyi	cah098	LKIII:128
Nkiduku	Mukimbungu	cah133	LKIII:128; LKM:1000
Nkisi ababonso	Kingoyi	19.1096	
Nkisi ababonso	Lolo	19.1130	
Nkisi nsi	Ludima	19.1175	LKII: 150; cf. Mukisi Nsi

NAME	LOCATION	NUMBER	REFERENCES
Nkita Niumbu	Lolo	19.1170	LKII: fig35b&39; read "Nsumbu"
Nkita Nsi	Lolo	cah240	LKIII:132; LKM:1002
Nkita Nsumbu	Lolo	19.1357	LKII:fig35a&38;cah224;LKM1001
Nkita Nyombe	Lolo	cah224	
Nkoko Bondo	Kingoyi	19.0514	LKIV:fig7; cah389
Nkoko Bondo	Lolo	19.1076	LKII:fig24; cah231
Nkomina	Kingoyi	cah142	LKIII:167; LKM:1003
Nkondi	Madzia	cah080	
Nkondi	Mayombe	19.1394	LKII:fig21a;LKM1010(KEL);cah27
Nkondi	Mayombe	19.1395	LKII fig. 22
Nkondi	Mukimbungu	19.0537	LKIII:86&fig27; cah258;LKM1016
Nkondi	Nganda	cah159	LKM:1006; LKIII:90
Nkondi a Mamba	Lolo	19.1316	LKIV:fig21; LKM1022; cah224
Nkondi a Mamba	Mukimbungu	cah259	
Nkondi Mafula	Kingoyi	cah139	
Nkondi Malwadi	Mayombe	19.1398	
Nkondi Mantuku	Kinkenge	cah119	LKIII:86,189
Nkondi Mfyedila	Kingoyi	cah143	LKIII:89; LKM:1018
Nkondi Mungundu	Kinkenge	cah119	also cah224 (Lolo)
Nkondi Nsanda	Lolo	19.1359	LKIII:fig13,14; cah240;LKM1020
Nkondi Ntilumuk	Kingoyi	cah141	LKIII:87; LKM:1019
Nkondi tulu	Mayombe	19.0484	
Nkondi ya nkoma	Kingoyi	19.1397	LKII:fig21b; cah27,74; LKM1007
Nkondi, mwana	Kingoyi	19.0538	LKM1023(KEL)"No.142"Photo151:3
Nkosi	Manianga	cah153	LKIII:91; LKM:1023
Nkubulu	Kingoyi	19.1162	cah218; LKII:67-70
Nkukula			LKII:74. See Nkulula
Nkula Ngombo	Mayombe	19.1149	
Nkulula	Mayombe	19.0536	This is probably Nkukula
Nkumba			LKII:73
Nkungazi	Mukimbungu	ch261	LKM:1024
Nkusu	Kingoyi	cah028	LKIII:118; LKM:1025
Nkutu a Zyeta	Kinkenge	cah117	LKIII:155; LKM"1028
Nkutu nsi	Kingoyi	cah139	LKM:1028
Nsakula	Kingoyi	19.1152	
Nsakulu		LKM1032	KEL "No.130"; LKIII:125
Nsakulu	Kingoyi	19.1237	LKIII:124 is similar
Nsakulu	Kinkenge	cah116	LKIII:124; LKM:1030
Nsakulu	Mukimbungu	cah252	LKIII:124 (briefly); LKM:1032
Nsambu	Kinkenge	LKM1035	
Nsansi			see Musansi
Nsansi	Kingoyi	19.1269	cah28,95; LKIV:fig1; LKIII:187
Nsansi	Mukimbungu	cah259	

NAME	LOCATION	NUMBER	REFERENCES
Nsansi	Nganda	cah159	LKM1036; not cited at LKIII:187
Nsansi a Matadi	Mukimbungu	cah257	LKM:1037
Nsasa Mpongo	Lolo	19.0489	Soderberg 1956:100-04
Nsasi	Lolo	19.1184	LKIV:127 & fig.22
Nsasi	Lolo	19.1233	
Nsasi	Mayombe	19.1073	
Nsimba Kiolo	Mayombe	19.0500	
Nsimbu	Kinkenge	cah014	LKM:1038
Nsimu	Lolo	19.1155	
Nsonde	Kibunzi	cah073	
Nsonde	Mukimbungu	cah253	LKM:1039
Nsonde Ngovo	Lolo	19.1145	cah240:9; see Ngovo
Nsonde yadila	Lolo	19.1052	
Nsulu a nkombo	Mukimbungu	19.1135	
Nsumba		LKM1041	KEL "No. 159"
Nsumbu	Mukimbungu	cah259	LKM:1041
Nsumbu	Nganda	cah159	LKIII:142; cah117 contributes
Nsungu	Kinkenge	cah015	different function from 19.506
Nsungu	Kinkonzi	19.0506	LKII:fig18b
Nsungu	Lolo	19.1053	cah231
Ntadi	Kinkonzi	19.1167	
Ntadi	Mukimbungu	cah252	LKM:1046
Ntadi	Nganda	19.0517	LKM1048 fits, but bell missing
Ntaka	Mukimbungu	cah259	
Ntinu Kongo	Lolo	19.1169	
Ntinu Malenga	Kinkenge	cah120	LKM:1049; cf. Mutinu
Nyambi	Nganda	cah159	LKM1050
Nzau	Mukimbungu	cah252	LKIII:137; LKM:1050
Nzau mfioni	Lolo	19.1161	LKIII:184
Nzemba	Kingoyi	cah144	LKM:1051
Nzemba Mbenza	Kiobo	cah344	
Nzenze	Kingoyi	cah143	LKM:1053
Nzieta siodi	Kiobo	19.1141	
Nziodi	Lolo	19.1210	
Nziodi Kodia	Kingoyi	19.1137	cah28; LKD s.v. zannga
Sela Mayende	Mukimbungu	cah256	
Simbi	Kasi	cah407	LKM:1060
Simbi	Kinkenge	cah117	LKIII:131
Sompolo		LKM1064	KEL: "No.174"
Songo	Kimpunga	cah212	LKM1064; called Nsonde Ngovo
Songo	Lolo	cah212	LKM1065; & called Nsonde Ngovo
Songo	Mukimbungu	ch260	LKM:1068. Also called Kinkuma
Songo	Nganda	cah159	LKIII:120; LKM:1069
Suku	Kingoyi	LKM1070	

NAME	LOCATION	NUMBER	REFERENCES
Tolo	Kinkenge	cah118	
Tsimba Kiolo	Mayombe	19.500	
Tuseno Mazazu	Mukimbungu	19.1075	
Waniaka (Bovi)	Mukimbungu	cah255	
Yoba	Kingoyi	cah074	
Zimbambi	Mukimbungu	cah256	
Zimpambu	Mukimbungu	cah261	LKM:911
Zyeta	Kingoyi	cah097	LKIII:154;LKM1071;cfNkutuZyeta



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Kikongo texts translated and edited by Wyatt MacGaffey

Monograph Series No. 16

Minkisi, ritual statuettes and other objects made by the Kongo people, were used to identify and correct the causes of misfortunes. Equipped with minkisi, Kongo diviners detected and confronted occult forces at work.

This book catalogs a collection of minkisi brought to Sweden by ethnographer Karl Edward Laman in the second decade of the twentieth century and preserved in the Swedish Ethnographic Museum in Stockholm. Together with the objects, Laman recorded commentaries by Kongo associates on the function and meaning of specific minkisi.

Drawings of forty-five minkisi are juxtaposed here with the corresponding descriptive texts in KiKongo and in English translation. Introductory notes provide ethnographic information about the minkisi, which are organized into four major categories associated with divination, healing, wealth and warfare, and mystical attack.

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Wyatt MacGaffey is Coleman Professor of Social Sciences at Haverford College and author of "Modern Kongo Prophets: Religion in a Plural Society" and "Religion and Society in Central Africa: The BaKongo of Lower Zaire".

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